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ABSTRACT

The collection of essays on higher education in the South Pacific includes: "Transplanting the University" (David R. Jones); "Education in the Small Island States of the South Pacific: The Changing Role of the School and Its Implications for Higher Education" (Tupeni L. Baba); "Co-operation and Collaboration among the Higher Education Institutions within the South Pacific and Beyond" (I. F. Helu); "The Impact of Foreign Aid on Pacific Mores, Ideas, and Traditions" (Pa'o H. Luteru); "Research Methodology in Education and Indigenous Life in Papua New Guinea" (Naomi T. Martin); "Higher Education and the Needs of Small Islands in the South Pacific Region" (Tuingariki; Cecilia Short); "A French University in the South Pacific" (Jacques Borzeix); "Higher Education in the South Pacific: Diversity and the Humanities" (Satendra Nandan); and "Understanding Higher Education Systems: Conceptual Issues" (V. Lynn Meek). (MSE)

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Explorations in Higher Education: A South Pacific critique

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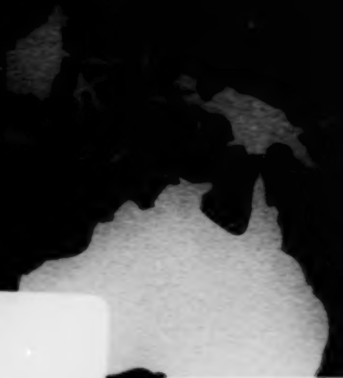

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Explorations in Higher Education:
A South Pacific critique

Edited by David R. Jones, V. Lynn Meek and John Weeks

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INTRODUCTION

The South Pacific region is vast, extending from Easter Island to Australia, New Zealand to the Equator, and in historical, familial relationship and increasingly close touch with the islands further north. Peopled over several thousand years, it developed a great diversity of well-established cultures. In the 19th and 20th Centuries new arrivals have added to the cultural diversity, increased the rate of change, and tended to dominate the region, politically and economically and to a lesser but still great extent culturally, through religion and education. Australia and New Zealand became models of 'advanced' 'Western' society, clearly visible and highly influential in the Pacific. Colonial powers extended these influences throughout the region, though traditional cultures retained a far stronger grip outside the colonies of white settlement.

Universities, as a part of Western culture, came to Australia and New Zealand in the 19th Century. Colonial powers saw little need for advanced education elsewhere, however; and indeed local demand remained low for many decades. Training in medicine, pedagogy, and theology grew slowly in the first half of the 20th Century, but only the sudden, surprising imminence of decolonisation and independence led locals to demand, and colonial powers to supply, both scholarships to New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere, and the first regional universities outside Australia and New Zealand.

Today the South Pacific is assuming a global significance which was long delayed by its relatively small population, geographical dispersion, and cultural diversity. Newly established or decolonised Pacific states are becoming increasingly aware of the need for both individual and collective action if they are to retain their newfound independence, both political and cultural, while also taking an effective part in the global economy and polity. Many of these states are tiny, isolated, and 'unviable' in the sense that they are unlikely to develop Western-style economies to Western levels of productivity and wealth. In past efforts at decolonisation, imperially mandated federations of peoples, states, and even educational institutions in Africa and the West Indies have failed. Whether less coercive local forms of collaboration will be more successful in the Pacific is now being tested. Higher education, one of those expensive, cosmopolitan things which isolated and/or impoverished states find it difficult to provide on their own, is seen as both a source of and a support for independence and simultaneously a means of developing co-operation and international relations within the South Pacific region and beyond.

Higher education in the South Pacific has naturally reflected the concerns and interests, and been derived from the education systems, of the prominent colonial powers. Foreign examples and influences, and local traditions, circumstances, and adaptations form the twin bases of the growing higher education systems of the South Pacific, as they have done in many other times and places. David Jones discusses the history, mechanics, and some of the consequences of this widespread phenomenon. The fact of 'Western' influence is obvious: New Zealand and Australia, and other nations like Britain to a lesser extent, built and originally staffed the universities of the region more or less in their own images of higher education. France is continuing a similar process today in its Pacific territories. Continuing influences, conveyed most obviously through foreign aid and expatriate personnel, are naturally of great interest for the present and future, as the small size and even smaller revenue base of many Pacific nations ensure that aid, outsiders, and the influences that accompany them, will remain necessary components of higher education.

The University of the South Pacific was established in 1968 'to serve the English-speaking people of the ... region' - eleven countries (then colonies and protectorates, now independent or self-governing) in a regional university enterprise. The Morris Report, from which emerged USP, emphasised: 'all courses of instruction, both for degrees and diplomas, must be so designed to take into account both the interests and aptitudes of the students of the region and also the circumstances and needs of the countries concerned.' From the beginning the university played a vital role in South Pacific higher education; far beyond that of 'orthodox universities' in its efforts to meet this challenge. Initially higher secondary courses were offered (now phased out) to prepare students for university studies, as well as the full range of degree programmes. Through its Extension Services, Centres, and Institutes it has developed a strong, supportive network to respond to the educational needs of the region's countries and people.

The first university to be created outside Australia and New Zealand in the region under discussion was the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Founded in 1965, it opened its doors to degree students in 1967. Like her sister institution in Lae - the University of Technology, known until 1973 as the Institute of Technology - UPNG was established at a time of rapid political and social advance in the South Pacific. Degree courses started at a time when there were only four indigenous university graduates and but a handful of secondary school leavers in the country. Eight years later Papua New Guinea achieved independence. The history of higher education in the South Pacific is recent; its effects, however, profound.

Today higher education in the South Pacific is an important current issue with international implications. It therefore comes within the scope of the Marjorie Smart Fellowship of St. Hilda's College, University of Melbourne, which sponsored and hosted the seminar, held 24-27 September, 1990, from which this book derives. Merely to list the participants reveals distinctive characteristics of higher education and other concerns in the region: vast distances, small and scattered populations, diverse cultures. Jacques Borzeix, President of the Université Française du Pacifique, travelled several thousand kilometres to the seminar from Tahiti. Cecilia and Tuingariki Short of the Education Ministry, Cook Islands, are concerned with the education of a Polynesian population of some thousands on small and widely separated islands; Naomi Martin chairs the Higher Education Commission of Papua New Guinea, concerned with millions of Melanesians populating a great land mass and its outlying islands. Satendra Nandan and Tupeni Baba have both served the University of the South Pacific; today the former is at the University of Canberra, Australia; the latter, having served as Fiji's Minister of Education, is now Reader in Education at USP; Pa'o Luteru, originally from Samoa and now of USP, is currently at the Flinders University of South Australia. Futa Helu is founder and Director of the independent Atenisi Institute in Tonga. David R. Jones, Lynn Meek, and John Weeks, all of the University of New

England in Australia, hale from New York, Colorado, and England respectively.

Colonial powers, aid donors, and local governments have tended to see education primarily as a vehicle for the economic, social, and political development of the region. As Tupeni Baba points out, this attitude began to replace the less instrumental approach of the missionaries over the course of the 20th Century, and remains dominant today. The Universities of the South Pacific and of Papua New Guinea have produced much of the highly trained and educated manpower which now governs and manages the states and enterprises of the South Pacific; the highest levels of education, when not sought in Australia or New Zealand or even further abroad, will continue for some time to be largely a preserve of these well-established institutions. New institutions in Samoa, Tonga, French Polynesia and New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands and elsewhere are beginning to offer secondary teacher training, lower and middle level tertiary education, both general and technical, and preparation for more advanced study elsewhere. Aid dollars, francs, and increasingly yen, as well as local funds, are directed toward higher education in the interests of 'development', and to meet a popular demand for education which, it is hoped, will carry its possessors into the 'Western' sector of private business and, most often and desirably, the public service.

This instrumental view of higher education is questioned as well as supported in the region. Futa Helu argues that: 'One can put all values into two classes- the interested and the disinterested. In the former we would include success, profit, fame, power, etc. and in the latter excellence, truth, objectivity, cosmopolitanism, etc. Of all social movements and institutions only education in the distinctive sense of the term has disinterested values as specific interests ... in order for institutions of higher education to preserve their true character and uniqueness they must have a workable theory of their relations to other social institutions and more importantly, how to deal with them on an equal footing. They must refuse, in other words, to be treated as essentially instrumental and ancillary in the scheme of things.' Helu's contribution to this volume questions other concepts besides development. Co-operation and collaboration may in practice mean intellectual or cultural as well as economic dominance by the most powerful collaborator. A 'Pacific Way' may be a form of homogeneity of outlook which stifles usefully divergent views.

But in a region which cannot, at least for the time being, fund its own expansion of higher education, aid donors and their concern with development must be understood, if only selectively embraced. Aid and its suppliers are not monolithic. Indeed, the shift from one or two primary and almost exclusive donors to a wider range of countries and international agencies requires continued consideration now and in the future. Aid influences development directly through the intentions of particular programmes and projects, and indirectly through the very presence and ideas of aid personnel. As Pa'o Luteru shows, aid to higher education concentrates on three areas: training of locals in donor countries; consultants and lecturers from donor countries; and the provision of capital works and expensive equipment. (All three forms reveal a marked tendency to expend the aid dollar on the goods and services of the donor country. Of growing concern today is the tendency of Australia, New Zealand, and others to offer aid increasingly in the form of scholarships to donor country institutions, bypassing and failing to support local education and perhaps encouraging 'brain drain' as well.) Each area produces its influence. The vast majority of graduates in the South Pacific attended and were vastly influenced by overseas institutions. Aid personnel, whether lecturers or advisers, train students directly and indirectly and exemplify to the community the ways of foreign places. Buildings may also be surprisingly influential, as Luteru notes: 'In many cases these are of Western architectural design and are perceived to be culturally insensitive.... To most Pacific islanders, these foreign masses of concrete and steel are regarded as objects of social standing and prestige.... [But the] closed nature of Western constructed buildings, compared to local buildings, can also project the notion of inaccessibility to the general public.'

The question of accessibility is not, of course confined to buildings, nor peculiar to the South Pacific. Indeed, because of higher education's rapid introduction into indigenous societies with no Western tradition of scholarship, the question of its accessibility in the South Pacific assumes many dimensions. One dimension concerns how *knowledge* is to be accessed and valued. Naomi Martin argues that academics in Papua New Guinea have tended to ignore or belittle traditional knowledge and world views. This denies the villager access to 'modern' schools of thought and, even more importantly, leaves academics ignorant of the rich traditions and cosmology of the local people.

The right of access to higher education has always been a controversial issue especially in the small-island countries of the South Pacific where aspirations are high but resources scarce. Countries have always found themselves playing minor roles in their efforts to extend educational opportunities in higher education and to set their own priorities in the face of external pressures from metropolitan partners and international agencies. Cecilia and Tuingariki Short share with the reader their dream 'to make education the common property of their people'. Their dream of a pathway to higher education for Cook Islanders could eventually come true through their innovative approach to the problem. With their *Education at Home*, *Selective Pepper-Potting*, and *Mixed Mode* policies becoming their *Fundamentals of Action*, they may well have the secret of making dreams a reality.

Adding to the diversity of higher education opportunities in the region is the French University of the Pacific with its innovative, refreshingly liberal President, Jacques Borzeix. The University, long mooted by the French government, opened in 1987; Borzeix was appointed in 1989. Borzeix's chapter sets out the present situation and future plans for the University. He paints a colourful, encouraging picture of a university already aware of the need for co-operation and collaboration, unhampered by restrictive dogma. The chapter provides not only a clear understanding of the basic philosophy on which the university has been founded, but details of how staffing policy, student intake, and course design reflect that philosophy. The flexibility displayed encourages high hopes for the future of an institution with an enlightened attitude to its mission.

Satendra Nandan is concerned with enlightenment in perhaps the broadest and most meaningful sense of that term. An author and critic (whose most recent work, *The Wounded Sea*, has just been published by Simon and Schuster), he sees in the arts and especially in literature the keys to the understanding of both our traditional, culturally distinct, pasts, and the past and present of all those others who make up an increasingly international, multicultural, and interwoven world. In the South Pacific artistic insights can tell us about both our indigenous and our colonial and imported roots, and about the common humanity which must be appreciated if we are to achieve a truly humane society.

The book closes with some theoretical observations from Lynn Meek. Higher education is not only a phenomenon, but also a field of study. But as a field of study, higher education lacks a sound and well constructed theoretical framework. Meek evaluates various theoretical traditions in the study of higher education and calls for the introduction of concepts which simultaneously allow for the appreciation of structural determinants and the importance of the role of the conscious actor. The task here is not merely theory building, but an attempt to establish a future research agenda. This volume is but one exploration of higher education in the South Pacific; it is hoped many more such voyages will follow.

CHAPTER 1

TRANSPLANTING THE UNIVERSITY[*]

David R. Jones

Higher education has always been notably trans-cultural. Individual scholars seek to extend their knowledge of distant places and different ideas, to disseminate their own work, and, of course, to find rewarding employment. Flourishing institutions have long attracted admiration and emulation based on both their intellectual and pedagogical merits and their apparent contribution to the success of their surrounding societies. Expansive societies have often exported their forms of higher education as part of their efforts to control, govern, exploit, or assist others. Successful institutional models of higher education, especially when they are those of prominent and dominant nations (or religions) have influenced the creation of new universities from medieval Europe to the Pacific region in the 1980s.

The transfers of greatest relevance today are those which have taken place in the era of the 'modern' university, the 19th and 20th Centuries. After a long period of relative stagnation throughout much of the world, the university changed and developed in many ways to meet and further the demands of societies which were being radically altered by political, social, economic, and scientific evolution and revolution. German, British, and American models of higher education have perhaps been most widely influential in recent centuries (though much could also be said about France's influence in Africa and Asia, and the transplanting of the Soviet Union's model to much of its formal and informal empire). But the longevity and traditionalism of universities mean that earlier eras cannot be ignored: Paris helped shape medieval Oxford and Cambridge, and Oxbridge shaped 17th and 18th Century Harvard, in ways which are still important.

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[*] This chapter is adapted from an article on "The International Transfer of National Models of Higher Education" which will appear in Clark, B. R. and G. Neave (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education*. Oxford: Pergamon, forthcoming 1992.

Transfer can take many forms. Men (and recently women) travel both ways between transmitting and receiving societies; books and pictures, laboratory apparatus and buildings may all embody and carry ideas, as does language itself. Selectivity and time-lag may modify a model on its way to a new place. And on arrival any model will undergo some degree of adaptation to the dominant values, practical circumstances, and past traditions of the recipient culture.

The South Pacific region provides a range of examples of past and present influence and adaptation. Australia and New Zealand created very 'British' systems of higher education a century and a half ago; today they are busily reforming and adapting their institutions in the light of current circumstances and ideas from their own countries and around the world. In the newer island states, the maturing Universities of Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific and many newer institutions are developing as complex and subtle mixtures of local needs and tradition and the influences of all the world, felt immediately in an age of unprecedentedly rapid and easy communication.

National Models

A national model may be many things, but it is never the totality of a nation's system of higher education, or even the whole reality of a single institution. Neither memories, descriptions nor plans ever encompass all parts and aspects of a university. Some parts of a model are simply not transportable: the social assumptions which have made Oxford and Cambridge what they are, the relative antiquity of Paris, Prague, or even Harvard, for examples. And time may alter the reality more quickly than the model in people's minds; new universities abroad often fail to incorporate the most recent developments in the metropolitan models, and the time lag may persist for decades or even centuries.

Models are many and various. They are also in the eyes of the beholders. Practically speaking, a model is those aspects of a system of higher education which potential exporters wish to establish or instill abroad, or those aspects which are admired and desired by potential importers. (Problems arise when importers and exporters envision different models, as when Britain's colonial office wished to export London University organization and modern curricula to African colonies whose British trained elites wanted Oxbridge colleges and the prestige of their curricula; or when too little of a model is transported, producing, for example, universities without secondary schools to feed them.)

Frequently, the model in people's minds consists of one or a few prominent aspects of a nation's system and style of higher education. These may be important or trivial: the democratic principles of much of American higher education, or the doubtfully accurate imitation of the regalia of a medieval past. They may be structural in a metaphorical or a concrete sense: institutional constitution or the architecture of traditional quadrangles. They may be misunderstood, as the German academic concept of *wissenschaft* often was. A model is often an odd mixture of aspects: for many the British model was an amalgam of Oxbridge gowns and high tables, the constitution of Manchester or Birmingham, and the curriculum and examinations of London. The model may even be an unrealized ideal, like Newman's *Idea of a University* or Abraham Flexner's vision of the true American research university. Creators of new institutions often assume the power of Humpty Dumpty: the model is what they say it is!

Means of Transfer

People are the most obvious, various, and important means of transporting academic models. What they carry with them depends, of course, on what they know and who they are. Each individual knows at most a few institutions and only parts of those, though collectively all those who participate in building a new university will have a more complete picture. They need not all be staff or students; laymen often begin the process of transfer before any new institutions are established. Laymen may include colonial or foreign affairs officials at home and the distinguished expatriates who often become founders and members of the governing bodies of new institutions abroad. Typically their experience of universities was gained as students and is thus limited and anything up to five decades out of date, a period which might make little difference in the 17th or 18th Centuries but a vast difference at any point in the last 150 years. Though they sometimes read the latest material, their tendencies are generally conservative; in Victorian Australia, for example, lay leaders steadily resisted the attempts of imported British academics to broaden the curriculum in conformity with changes in the model at home. This conservatism may be perfectly reasonable: colonial elites often see advantages in recreating the institutions and mores of conservative society at home. In a society seeking to modernize, like 19th Century Japan, or post-war Singapore, Taiwan, or Korea, founders may take a very different but equally rational view, seeking out the new and apparently dynamic parts of the educational model of an admired society.

Academics are the most frequent and efficient carriers of models of higher education. New universities in colonies, developing areas, and modernizing states have to be staffed, and professors are an important export of model metropolitan institutions. When jobs are few and promotion slow at home, expatriate professors may be young, ambitious, and often imbued with current reforming attitudes and the latest techniques in higher education. At other times both the model universities and the new may suspect that only the second rate will accept the often limited research facilities, lack of disciplinary colleagues, and sometimes rugged conditions of a new environment. But at any time there may be a dynamic few who see great challenges and opportunities in building new institutions.

The professor's influence will vary according to how long he (or, but only rarely and recently, she) stays, and how easy and frequent are the opportunities to refresh the memory and study new developments at home. The professor of the 1850s went abroad with a stock of ideas which must last for decades if not for life; successors in the 1930s could often go home for the long vacation. Recently, the permanent expatriate professor has been increasingly replaced by a system of short term exchange by which both foreign and local staff become familiar with metropolitan models, and bring their differing perceptions to the task of adaptation. In the 20th Century the scholarly frequently are *Changing Places* in a *Small World*, (Lodge, 1975, 1984) and taking new ideas and practices with them.

Students are naturally attracted to the institutions which constitute prestigious models in general, and to those of politically or economically dominant powers in particular; many colonial powers sent small numbers of indigenous students to the metropolis for decades before establishing universities overseas. Returned students who achieve high position, whether in academia or the society at large, tend to admire and to demand the duplication of the models they have known abroad.

In recent decades postgraduate study has been a major transmitter of models of higher education; while new universities in new places turn out Bachelors of Arts and Sciences, the desire to create an indigenous professoriate of international standing must involve advanced study abroad. Those who return from such study bring back the habits and assumptions of the great graduate schools, and have become part of a culture in which they can only advance by research performance and publication. The result is often the reinforcement of the influence of a model, but the hindering of adaptation to local circumstances, where theoretical research and rigorous academic standards may not be the things most needed.

The travels of students, professors, and sometimes administrators are often encouraged and assisted by many agencies and organizations. Among the best known, 1851 Exhibition and Rhodes Scholarships have given senior students from the British Empire/Commonwealth and beyond the opportunity to study in scientific institutions and in Oxford, and a large percentage of such scholars have subsequently entered academic employment. The Fulbright programme, covering both students and senior academics, and involving bilateral *exchange* between the U.S. and many other nations, has exported American models (and, it is hoped, tempered their insularity) via American and foreign visitors. In recent decades foreign aid, when directed toward education, has included the annual award of thousands of study fellowships bringing nationals of developing countries to Europe and North America.

Exchanges are just one of the functions of organizations designed to encourage a wide range of contacts among universities. Since World War II, for example, the British Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas has assisted in the creation and development of universities in more than two dozen developing nations formerly within the British Empire or a part of Britain's wider domain of informal influence. After advising on new foundations the Council has continued to provide a variety of services including recruitment of British staff, local staff development, advising both donor and recipients on the use of funds, and the maintenance of links among libraries and academic departments. The Association of Commonwealth Universities provides similar services, exchange programmes, widely attended conferences, and major reference publications to an even wider range of institutions in the 'first' as well as the 'third' worlds. All such activities call attention to, and many actually transport, a variety of British models to much of the world.

Models are often transported by the many practices described, collectively and generically, as foreign aid. Advisers, funds, textbooks, laboratories, and whole buildings are often despatched under this rubric. And the prestige and apparent usefulness of these models are attested by the wealthy nation's success, though this may produce resentment and rejection as well as imitation, particularly when old remedies prove ineffective in new circumstances. Aid may be multinational as well as bilateral; UNESCO and WHO provide fellowships and sponsor travel, conferences, and research into higher education, while the prominence of OECD studies of higher education and their investigations and advice have led to the suggestion that there may now be a trans-national, OECD model of the university. If so, will its lack of institutional reality and local peculiarity make it easy to import and adapt, as it consists largely of principals and propositions which may presumably be applied in various ways in varying circumstances?

Philanthropic foundations, at first those of the U.S. but increasingly those of Europe and Japan as well, play both deliberate and incidental parts in transmitting academic models. Ford has funded universities in Africa, Volkswagen, conferences in Chile. Carnegie Corporation funds and American advice have encouraged educational research in several countries. The work of another Carnegie philanthropy also exemplifies the indirect export of a national model. The sheer bulk and wide publicity of the Carnegie Commission reports have called worldwide attention to U.S. models (both strengths and weaknesses), exemplified in a book subtitle 'European Implications of the Carnegie Commission Reports' (Embling, 1974).

In modern societies professions and many other employments are defined, and access to them is controlled, through education. The qualifying standards, and even the actual exams, of leading states are often adopted in colonies and developing nations seeking parity of esteem and performance and transferability of credentials. New schools of medicine, law, and engineering, and even commerce and music, thus naturally and sensibly are modelled on the institutions which have successfully prepared students to pass the same exams or meet the same expectations. The extension of French law or American medicine, the authority of institutes of engineers or the prestige of fellowships in the arts have carried educational as well as political, scientific, and artistic models to far places.

In recent decades professional studies in education itself have furthered the influence of certain models. Post-graduate departments of higher education, many in America but some in Canada, Britain and continental Europe as well, attract many overseas students who are already, or become upon their return home, influential teachers and administrators, imbued with their host countries' practices and theories of higher education.

The written word is an excellent and conveniently portable kind of model for export. In histories of universities or today's textbooks of higher education it may provide a picture of a whole model; in parliamentary papers and public enquiries (notably the famous 'Blue Books', reports of the Royal Commissions of Victorian Britain) a summary of current thinking on how to reform, improve, defend, or expand a model. Textbooks and scientific and scholarly periodicals all convey aspects of the systems of higher education which produce them. In addition to initially imparting a model, such publications often serve to continually reinforce its importance. While Japan and China, like Russia before them, have both translated foreign texts and progressively developed indigenous publishing industries, such investment is beyond the resources of most small or developing states, which must continue to buy from abroad, and whose scholars must conform to metropolitan models if they seek publication and status in refereed journals produced overseas.

Books are of course one embodiment of language, a pervasive agent of cultural influence. A 'modern' Western language has obvious advantages and appeal in a developing state, be it 19th Century Russia or India or the 20th Century 'Third World'. Embodied in a language come philosophies of life, modes of thought, and the grammar and syntax of power; these may have much less appeal or suitability in a new environment than do the practical advantages of cheap and up-to-date texts and advanced technology. Where there is no universal or widely spoken native tongue, as in Papua New Guinea or parts of Africa, adoption of a 'world' language may be inevitable, though efforts are being made to use such local developments as 'pidgin' at higher levels of education. But ex-colonial understanding of the immense and continuous influence of language is shown by the massive efforts, in South East Asia for example, to replace the colonial language with an indigenous tongue in higher education.

Adaptation

The success or failure, popularity, and degree of modification of an exported model will largely depend on its new circumstances. Is there a potential clientele with appropriate previous education and lingual skills? Are there obvious benefits to be derived from the establishment and development of a new model of education? Has it been eagerly sought, or imposed? Does the new form of knowledge and certification compete with others, either old and established or equally new and equally attractive? Did the transferred model remain prominent and popular at 'home' and is the transfer continually reinforced by more professors, books, student travel, linked professional associations, etc.? Is the authority of a colonial power maintained? Finally, geographically, is continuous contact easy or difficult?

A modern metropolitan state whose system of higher education may itself be an influential model nevertheless admits foreign influences, but these are usually imported piecemeal and rapidly modified and absorbed, more or less successfully, into the native system. Frequently a foreign system arouses concern, but does not produce emulation; the 'sputnik crisis' of the 1950s and the fear of the Japanese today have produced consternation but not real imitation in the U.S.

Colonies of settlement, where a numerically substantial fragment of a European society is established abroad, are likely recipients of a large part, if not the whole, of the 'mother' country's model of higher education, especially if indigenous people and their cultures are largely ignored in the creation of the new society. North America, Australia, and New Zealand (see below) are examples of this situation. Imperial models are seldom formally *imposed* in such cases however, and as such new societies become self-governing and eventually independent they find it possible to adapt to local circumstances or feel the influence of other models than the old imperial one. Yet homogeneity of population, ties of sentiment and trade, and a sense of inferiority wittily characterized as the 'colonial cringe' may maintain the authority of an often outdated metropolitan model to a dysfunctional degree.

The situation is complicated when more than one metropolitan culture is influential, as in South Africa or Canada. A British colonial government was able to ignore black culture in South Africa, but it could not ignore the long established Afrikaner society with its own language, philosophies and system of education. While establishing English language universities modelled on Britain, it also established a system of government in which sufficient power and independence were given to Afrikaner interests so that they might follow a different bent, and different European models, in higher education. Adaptation, willing or forced, has produced Afrikaans universities with British institutional structures, and English language universities with Afrikaner social structures (segregation). It remains to be seen how fully universities will reflect or participate in future social change.

In Canada British models have been challenged by both antique French and contemporary American styles of higher education. Quebec, the heart of French Canada, possessed a pre-revolutionary French Catholic system of education and long continued to maintain its principles despite the British ascendancy in Canada and the French Revolution at 'home'. Though extensively adapted to the circumstances of the 20th Century, higher education in Quebec has remained very different from that in other provinces, even during the period when Quebec was expected to conform in many ways to an 'Anglo' model of provincial organization. Recently, in a more multi-cultural climate, French and French-Canadian influences have reasserted themselves, as shown in the linguistic requirements and curricular interests of universities throughout Canada.

The competing influence of American models on Canadian higher education, which may seem almost all-pervasive today, has grown over time. When Canada's first, Eastern universities were established American models had little prominence and few attractions. While they have adopted such American forms as the graduate school, credit-hours, departmental organization, and many others, universities like Toronto continue to 'feel' British. Things are different in the Western provinces. The aims, purposes, and organization of the U.S. state and land-grant universities (see below), and their 'feel' as well, are largely reproduced in Canada.

The importance of American influence is unsurprising. The international border has long been one of the most permeable in the world, easily crossed by academics and students. Resort to U.S. graduate schools, with their vast resources, has been and remains a common sequel to undergraduate study in Canada. Books, journals and research results also travel easily, and perhaps hinder the development of independent Canadian producers, faced with seemingly overwhelming competition. Not surprisingly, this influence has been resented and resisted. Canada's present insistence on favouring its citizens for all academic appointments is clearly an adaptation, if a doubtfully useful one, to the influence of a foreign model.

Circumstances are very different where, as in most of sub-Saharan Africa, colonies were controlled and exploited but not widely settled by newcomers. Imperially modelled higher education was slower to arrive, as the colonizers continued to receive their higher education at 'home', and only slowly did the demand for indigenous people highly educated in a Western way increase beyond the practical possibility of sending a few to the metropole. When higher education did come, it came as a package, closely resembling a metropolitan model, often subordinate to a metropolitan institution, and often simplified or shorn of its more esoteric aspects such as research. As its purpose was to prepare black men to assume places in 'white', metropolitan-style organizations, little adaptation seemed necessary.

As the social, cultural, and economic demands of the indigenous population become prominent, and at independence predominant, the unadapted foreign model may begin to seem at best irrelevant, at worst a dangerous legacy of the past or agency of continued, informal foreign dominance. Adaptation begins and takes many forms: the progressive localization of staff, the use and study of local languages, and of cultures and languages other than that of the former imperial power (Islam and Arabic in Africa, for example), localization of curricular content and approaches to learning. Professional preparation is modified to suit local conditions (as when medical schools concentrate on preventive medicine and the diseases of dearth rather than those of wealth), involving different standards for the preparation and admission of students other adaptations.

But adaptation faces limits and resistance. The desired processes of modernization and economic growth require continued access to and training in the latest Western techniques and developments. Worldwide intellectual status depends on conformity to metropolitan norms; teaching materials, research equipment, and research reporting come from abroad, usually in world languages, and conform to metropolitan modes; local political and social status may continue to depend on a 'Western' education and manner, as do the chances of successful emigration (brain drain may be a condemnatory term for such emigration, but many of those demanding and undergoing higher education hope to become part of it).

The German Model

Legacies of the medieval university can easily be found in our modern institutions. Our gowns, our degrees, our divisions into faculties, our titles, even our sometimes rowdy disputes with local communities, are just a few examples. But the 19th Century German university was perhaps the first major influence on today's 'modern' universities, felt directly in Europe and North America, and indirectly in the Pacific today.

This new type of university, dedicated to research and the concept of wissenschaft, grew in a symbiotic relation with the power and prestige of the German states until in the late 19th Century a united Germany, its growing industry and powerful army, and its scientifically productive universities had achieved equal and inter-related prominence in the world. Obviously there are elements of myth as well as history in this depiction, but myth can be an important part of an attractive model. Many nations attributed Germany's growth and dynamism in substantial part to its universities. Many individuals admired the quality of German scholarship and science and attributed that, perhaps with better cause, to the same institutions.

Transfer of the German model tended to be quite indirect and incomplete. Germany's overseas empire was relatively small and short-lived, providing no opportunities to establish new German-style universities far from home. German professors did not staff the institutions of foreign lands to anything like the extent that Britons, Americans, or recently Indians have done. German has not achieved the status of a world language (though the publication of German science gave the language wide currency) and some of the ideas as well as the language of the German university suffered in translation and transition. For example, wissenschaft, in its full sense, did not really penetrate among those who merely adopted a cruder, *supposedly* German approach to knowledge. The American or British scientist, intent on enhancing the dignity of his calling, could cite the German respect for professors and their knowledge without considering the philosophical underpinnings of the original German attitude. In another example, the very close links between university and government service which did so much to give the German university its purpose and status might be ignored in the United States or elevated to extraordinary heights, as in the relationship between the Imperial University of Tokyo and Japanese government, depending on predisposition and circumstances in the 'importing' country.

The main carriers of German influence were foreign students and visitors, including many junior and senior scholars observing and/or working in German laboratories and seminars. Certain aspects of the German university model were probably taken home by most of these people: respect for scholarship and scholars and the importance of research. The visibility of the German model was enhanced by those abroad who described its apparent excellence as part of campaigns to reform their own institutions. In Britain those calling for the academic revitalization of Victorian Oxford and Cambridge compared their limited scholarship with the advances of German research; those advocating advanced scientific and technical education described the German industrial challenge as based on university research in chemistry and other sciences.

The acquisition of German influences could be almost accidental at a collective national level, as in the United States where it resulted essentially from an accumulating mass of individual decisions to travel abroad, as young scholars from America's rising universities chose to visit and study in Germany. In general, they seem to have been well received and well liked, and in addition to bringing German knowledge and some academic habits home, they produced a spate of fondly laudatory literature presenting the German model in an attractive light.

Obviously, German educational influence in the South Pacific has been attenuated and indirect. British and American influences, on the other hand, have been and remain massively important.

American Models

Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of American higher education is also the least exportable. The number and variety of institutions of higher education, their range of programmes, admission standards and costs and the ease of transfer among them, the research productivity of great institutions and the remedial activities of local ones all add up to a remarkably diverse and quite effective, though doubtfully efficient, system. No one has copied that *system*. Particular institutional types, methods of organization, and philosophies of higher education have, however, been widely admired, exported, and imported.

The first potentially exportable 19th Century American model was the state university, which began to appear beside the older style colleges in the first half of the century. This model developed quickly as the century progressed, stimulated by the Morrill Act of 1862 and the growing demand for accessible education, technical and agricultural education, applied research, and other products characteristic of this new form of university. State and land grant institutions have occasionally been reproduced in some detail abroad, as in Africa, particularly when an American university, one or more foundations, and the U.S. government have all taken an interest. More often, one or more features are admired and imitated: the idea of endowment in the form of real property granted by the state; the emphasis on locally applicable teaching and technology, and on non-degree and extension work to disseminate it; the conceptualization of the university as the state's and the public's powerhouse of knowledge.

By the turn of the century another model,the modern research university, began to develop, based on some state universities like Michigan, some old style colleges like Harvard, and some new foundations like Johns Hopkins. The new institutions derived much from Germany and, as the 20th Century progressed, became in their turn an influential exemplar to the world. (Consider, for example, the high international profile of the Ivy League, MIT, Chicago, Berkeley, Cal Tech, etc.) Their intellectual products have provided a great deal of the infrastructure of modern research, scholarship, and higher education worldwide in the form of texts, scholarly journals, laboratory equipment and organization, and the very definitions of what constitutes higher or advanced study; these factors transmit the research university model in both obvious and inobvious ways.

In recent decades the vast growth in community and other two year colleges, open admissions programmes, and the apparent desire to move from mass to nearly universal higher education have all been particularly visible forms and evidences of the unusual degree of democratization in American higher education. In seeking to identify and measure the influence of these ideas and institutions abroad, however, an important question is raised though by no means definitively answered. When similar circumstances obtain in many places, are similar developments the result of influence or of parallels and coincidence? What does the democratization of European higher education in recent decades owe to American models, and what to local dissatisfaction engendering locally derived reforms? Mixtures of influences and degrees of adaptation will always defy precise measurements under 'field conditions'.

Pieces of American university models have been particularly exportable. Department structures, dormitories, the graduate school, the associate degree, the separate higher education of women, have all been adopted in one part of the world or another. Whatever pieces of the American model may be perceived abroad, in recent years they have been peculiarly influential simply because they are American. The size, power, and obvious material success of the United States have assured that its institutions are both visible and envied; both higher education and efforts to criticize, reform, or improve it all receive worldwide publicity, and in an era of unprecedentedly rapid and effective communications. Academics and students are attracted to the United States, and especially to its graduate and professional schools, in great numbers, while Americans have both the opportunities and often the encouragement of government, foundations, and universities themselves to work abroad.

The American educational empire, like its political equivalent, has been largely 'informal', based on economic social, and other influences. The exceptions have been concentrated in the Pacific. Philippine higher education, limited and antiquated under Spanish rule, grew considerably under the United States and explosively in recent decades under continuing U.S. influence. Colonial and Filipino governments have spent relatively little on higher education, but a distinctively American style of private higher education has produced a very large, if not always high quality system. While the colleges and universities of the 20th Century have been American in structure and appearance, some were founded quite specifically to offer alternatives to a wholly Americanized *content* in higher education; adaptation comes in many guises. Recently the United States has begun to provide higher education in the islands of Micronesia, making quite literal use of the state university and community college models. As these former territories assert their growing independence continued American aid and influence will compete with local circumstances and demands and perhaps with the increasing influence of other Pacific states and their models (see below) to produce adaptation.

Aspects of American higher education travelled to the larger informal empire in many different ways. The 'Christian colleges' of late Imperial China were more-or-less discreet enclaves, teaching Christianity and Western secular knowledge in English; they had practically no contact with traditional knowledge or what remained of Chinese higher education. A similar wholesale export took place a century later, when Nigeria saw the establishment of institutions so patently 'State U' in style that even the cafeterias' condiments spoke of the American mid-west. Very different circumstances have produced very different results, however. In the latter case American ideas were admired by some in authority rather than ignored by most. Some saw this American model as a viable alternative to a British-style system which was widely criticised. And perhaps the 'State U', with its emphasis on locally applicable research and training, was a more relevant and adaptable model for export.

The idea of a private sector alongside public institutions, highly developed in Japan and taken to an extreme in the Philippines, has also influenced other areas. The private institution model has influenced Latin America through many channels. The older private institutions of Mexico reflect both the American-style educational aims of Mexican business and the recruitment of fee paying American students. Attempts to reform and expand higher education in many Latin American countries has involved the importation of American consultants; these and the money to support them and their American-style innovations have often come from American foundations. Recently the advice provided by conservative American economists to Latin American dictatorships has included recommending the privatisation of higher education.

Both blatantly obvious and subtly osmotic processes have worked to transport U.S. influences to Canada. Canadian academic staff have long been recruited from the U.S., while indigenous staff received their advanced training in the major U.S. postgraduate schools. At the same time the sheer, immeasurable weight of proximity and relative size has made all of Canadian culture notably American, quite apart from the formal evidences of dependency. In higher education similar origins and parallel developments from the days of the small and scattered colleges of the frontier made the absorption and assimilation of influences easier.

British Models

British models have had worldwide influence. Early exports went to North America and Ireland; more recently, under the modern Empire, higher education was exported to an extraordinary range of places including most of Africa, much of Asia, Australia and New Zealand, and the West Indies.

Less formal influences have extended even further. Higher education in the United States, especially along the Eastern seaboard, has long remained Anglophilic, an affinity visibly expressed in any number of ostensibly collegiate Gothic buildings. Even 19th Century France produced studies admiring and analyzing the cultural institutions of the 'Anglo-Saxons', including their universities.

As in other cases, of course there was no one British model. In the century after 1850, the founding era of so many colonial universities, the variety and complexity of British higher education was steadily increasing as old universities were reformed, new ones established, curricula were broadened and new clienteles were served. Basically, though, three models, the reformed Oxbridge, the London, and the civic became influential in the latter part of the 19th Century and remained dominant in the 20th; aspects of Scottish and Irish practice in higher education were also influential at times.

While the totality of Oxford and Cambridge, with their antiquity, wealth, and place within the Establishment, was not transportable, aspects of their style and substance were very influential. The revived scholarly reputation, the growing emphasis on academic standards, honours degrees, and increased specialization, and the continued insistence on policies designed to select and educate a governing elite were all widely admired and often imitated, as were many of the graces and customs of collegiate academic life. African universities would have both honours degrees in classics and senior common rooms where the port circulated. The continued presence of unproductive fellows, and well born or moneyed dullards, and the absence of some important subjects, could be ignored: the model is in the eye of the beholder.

The University of London was both a model itself and an agency for the transmission of many aspects of academic organization and culture. In its early form as primarily an examining and certifying agency it seemed an appropriate model for India, with teaching left to locally developed colleges. In its modern form as a federal university, it was copied to a greater or lesser extent in attempts to link colleges in such areas as Southern Africa, East Africa, and the West Indies. The circumstances of Africa or the Caribbean were so obviously different from those of London that it is unsurprising that the experiments were short-lived. London's influence has been felt most widely, though, through its provision of external examinations and degrees, and its willingness to affiliate and supervise colleges (proto-universities) overseas. The promise of a London degree with its international acceptability attracted students throughout the Empire, and so their local institutions found themselves teaching British model syllabi to British standards. The idea that new universities needed a respected mentor, supervisor, and guarantor meant that London and certain other British universities closely supervised as well as generally influencing the development of many nations' first and leading universities; London permitted and even encouraged adaptations of subject matter and organization, though not admission or graduation standards, to local circumstances, but inevitably after independence these adaptations have sometimes seemed insufficient.

In many ways the growing civic or 'redbrick' universities (Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, *et al.*) provided the most useful model for export. Young and self-starting institutions, attuned to the demands of industrial and commercial districts, offering cost-efficient teaching of modern subjects, and with constitutions designed to take account of both academic expertise and community interests, they were copied in some degree throughout the White Dominions, and proved useful and adaptable within certain limits.

The limits were matters of principle: principles accepted and transmitted through all the models described above. British higher education was and is selective, elitist, and of high standard. Universities are expected to admit only the brightest, and to teach them only those subjects believed to have sufficient academic and intellectual content. All universities should be of roughly equivalent excellence, and equivalent standards of judgement and examination should be maintained, often by the use of external examiners, a mechanism which has done much to maintain the British model as well as its standards abroad. (And to hinder local adaptation: it is, after all, easiest to judge and maintain parity if the substance of education is identical.) Summarized like this, it is easy to see both the attraction of quality and prestige offered by the British models, and the alternative appeal of more flexible and egalitarian American models, and to understand the difficult choices which developing nations and their universities must make, now that they are at least partially free to choose.

Britain's part in developing higher education in India and Africa is well documented, and therefore treated very briefly here. Eric Ashby, the most distinguished commentator on the international role of British models of higher education, saw the export of British models to India and Africa as respectively a partial failure and a partial success (Ashby, 1966). This assessment was based largely on two factors: the nature of adaptation and the degree to which academic standards were maintained. The British chose to despatch a very British model to both continents, and for similar reasons, though differently expressed in different circumstances. For India, British institutions, philosophies, religion, etc. were assumed to constitute the path to greater civilization and enlightenment; for Africans, more recent British arts and sciences were presumed to be the route to development and a place among the multi-national world of modernity. Either way it meant British style organization and subject matter, taught in English.

The new institutions of higher education achieved great popularity in India, but in the process adapted in an unexpected way. For much of Indian higher education, adaptation was essentially the triumph of equity over all other considerations. The opportunity to contest for the jobs and status which were the potential rewards of education was expanded as much as possible, even if poor teaching, pitiful facilities, and enormous classes reduced both the chances of success and the value of the prizes. The apotheosis of this approach is the tradition of massive protest against difficult exams, which obviously interfere with equality of opportunity regardless of diligence, ability, or other factors. The British vision of an unsuccessfully transplanted model is understandable.

Yet in the long run functional adaptation is compensating for the dysfunctional. Where Britain has striven to maintain comparability of institutional standards, India has developed a very pronounced hierarchy of institutions. While the bad may be very bad, India's best universities and institutes have made the country a major producer and publisher of research, not to mention a nuclear power.

When African universities were established a century after the first exports to India great care was taken to insure that British standards would be maintained. New colleges were affiliated to home universities and regulations specified British procedures and external examination. In the absence of substantial numbers of African graduates, academics and administrative staff were almost all British; British aid and agencies continued to maintain the model after independence. An African elite which included many graduates of British universities often *insisted* on British standards; anything less would be demeaning. Where the universities have not been unduly damaged by political and social upheavals, the results have been at least a 'partial success'. Many African universities, among which Ibadan is perhaps the best known, have maintained high standards; more slowly, they have adapted to their environment by giving increasing attention to local subject matter, be it African history or African botany. Whether they have adequately served their societies, whether indeed any form of higher education can solve many of the problems of contemporary Africa, remains an open question.

Of all Britain's colonies Australia and New Zealand were among those most likely to accept undiluted British influences, including models of universities. The indigenous populations were ignored, the settler population long remained predominantly, almost exclusively, British, and the colonies were geographically and socially isolated from competing influences, unlike Canada and South Africa. The colonists, or at least their leaders, intended to maintain British ways and the institutions to support them. Preliminary plans for universities in New Zealand were drafted before the colonists set out, while leading Australian colonists spoke of creating universities which would '... strengthen the connection between the colony and the parent country by implanting English habits and opinions ...' and, when the gold rushes seemed to threaten social and political assumptions, hoped that professors would '... stamp on their future pupils the character of the loyal, wellbred English gentleman'.

British academics were, as usual, the most important and continuous source of British influence. For decades most professors were chosen in Britain by committees of distinguished British scholars, sometimes assisted by a distinguished Antipodean who happened to be in England. When Australians and New Zealanders slowly began to infiltrate the academic ranks, a period of study at 'home' constituted a useful and usually necessary qualification. While professors often held more liberal and modern views on education than did founders and councillors of new universities, the debates were still about varieties of British practice, not about internationally derived or locally originated alternatives. In most academic debates then (and many today) all the positions were buttressed with real or supposed British practice and precedents.

Other means of transfer played their parts. Professional associations were often branches of their British counterparts, maintaining the commonality of professional education and certification at home and abroad. Overworked and under-equipped Antipodean professors generally produced little research or scholarship, so texts and materials inevitably remained British

By the early 20th Century Australia and New Zealand possessed small and very British systems of higher education. Their units looked rather like minor civic universities shorn of their major research and scholarly functions and such apparatus as great laboratories or libraries, and with rather low percentages of honours students. They offered liberal and professional education to the middle classes, meeting a relatively small demand for particular services but playing a very small part in most aspects of society and economy, and of little importance to most people. This situation changed little during two World Wars and the depression between them.

When the long surge of higher education began after World War II, Antipodean society was much less parochial: communication was more efficient, the economies more diverse and Britain was no longer the great power in the Pacific. Yet British models continued to exert great influence on the reform and growth of higher education. The Murray Committee (1957), which drew the first blueprint for a vast expansion of higher education in Australia, was chaired by the Chairman of Britain's University Grants Committee, and a British Vice Chancellor was among the other four members. Several years later the Martin Committee showed that Australia could still be committed to British models. As Davies (1989) has recently shown, Sir Leslie Martin restructured Australian higher education on the basis of his admiration for Britain's elite university approach acquired decades before as a student under Rutherford at Cambridge's Cavendish Laboratory.

Of course, no single influence or model remains unalloyed forever. While New Zealand long was and sometimes still seems most insularly British, alternative educational influences began early. Late 19th Century New Zealanders often journeyed 'home' to Britain via California, the transcontinental railway, and the Atlantic, and some deliberately toured American universities on the way. Back in New Zealand they explained growing democratization, utilitarianism, and a service orientation in higher education as adaptations to local conditions, but also as arrangements successfully tested in similar American circumstances.

In the 20th Century American texts and scholarly works have replaced many British volumes, American techniques of professional education have been introduced, notably in law, and American approaches to educational research furthered through the Carnegie Corporation, which helped to found and largely supported the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. The main source of influence has remained the same, though: an ever expanding exchange of people, as more and more New Zealanders and Americans have studied in each other's institution, often under the aegis of the Harkness and Fulbright programmes and various foundations.

The South Pacific Region Today

The relatively small and widely dispersed population of the South Pacific region, its status until recently as an assortment of minor colonies, and its distance from the centres of world power have insured that higher education is a very recent arrival. European colonial powers educated a few indigenes in Europe; France has continued their policy up to the present, with a local university opening only in the late 1980s. In general, though, major development of higher education postdates European colonial authority.

Australia and New Zealand have, however, played a quasi-imperial role in the South Pacific, and each contributed greatly to one of the two major universities of the islands, Australia creating the University of Papua New Guinea in 1966, New Zealand providing substantial aid and advice to the University of the South Pacific, which opened in 1968. Neither, however, exported a clearly national model. Australia and New Zealand were themselves engaged in overhauling their system of higher education, and considering the practices of many nations in the process. And the young and ambitious academics who went to New Guinea and Fiji were certainly not narrowly committed to the home models; many had studied abroad, while their commitment to various disciplinary cultures, which are increasingly trans-national, might be stronger than other considerations. In most cases they were not traditional empire-builders; rather they were committed to the interests of the new states, and expected to adapt higher education to their needs and interests.

No one national model seems likely to predominate in the South Pacific. The University of the South Pacific is multinational in organization (it serves and is supported and owned by 11 sovereign states) as well as hybrid in organization; its staff are an extraordinary mixture of local and expatriates from much of the world. Some of its participating states now possess other and quite different forms of higher education as well. The University of Papua New Guinea may still bear a noticeable resemblance to many Australian universities, but the University of Technology is a very different place, and the Pacific Adventist College has a more American appearance (Crocombe and Meleisea, 1988).

Modern communications are both an integral part of higher education in the South Pacific, with satellite networks and other high technology the keys to the rapid growth of distance education, and a means by which many models may be imported in the forms of course packages, audio-visual materials, and teleconferences. International interest in the area means that the aid packages, including the educational models of France, Japan and the United States as well as those of Australia, New Zealand, and Britain are increasingly available.

In this developing region, then, models are seen as options to be considered, and deliberate selectivity, partial adoption, and the creation of very international mixtures are all possible and indeed inevitable. Western Samoa participates in the University of the South Pacific on the one hand, and is vividly aware of the American model of its neighbour, American Samoa, on the other; at the same time it is firmly committed to adapting these various foreign models to the demands of fa'a Samoa, the traditional philosophy and lifestyle. Selective adoption and adaptation may be leading remarkably quickly to a new and efficient synthesis, a regional and international model.

Old models may still serve many purposes, however. Under threat from a military dictatorship in Fiji, the University of the South Pacific has vigorously and with some success defended the principles of academic freedom and political independence for the university, citing their importance in the great universities of other times and places. The old models may help to defend the new.

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CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION IN THE SMALL ISLAND STATES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC: THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION*

Tupeni L. Baba

Following a conference on Small Island States of the Pacific and Indian Oceans in 1971 (Shand, 1979), an increasing number of scholars has become interested in studying small island states. This stems from the belief that there must be peculiar characteristics which make the small islands different, in kind or degree, from metropolitan or other developing countries. At the heart of this approach is the belief that if one understands the critical factors of 'islandness', one will be in a better position to develop a theoretical framework to guide development work in these islands. The bulk of the studies undertaken so far has been done by economists and geographers (Higgins, 1982; Fairbairn and Tisdell, 1983; Doumenge, 1983; Edomen, 1980).

Education is a major item of expenditure and many of the South Pacific islands spend up to a quarter of their national budgets on it. If the factors of islandness influence the extent to which major development projects are successful, then it could be argued that an understanding of these factors would enable those concerned with education to explain some of the sources of current problems and, more importantly, take cognizance of these factors in future education planning.

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In the South Pacific, the island leaders have been conscious for quite some time of the value of exchanging views and experiences amongst themselves and in co-operative activities. They have recognised that because of their size and some shared cultural and historical traditions they could learn much from one another; this has led to the development of as many as 200 regional organisations (Crocombe, 1980: 53-61). Most of these organisations have emerged during the last three decades coinciding with a period of rapid decolonisation and independence in the region. These organisations cover different fields - social, political, educational, cultural and technical - and their existence over the years is some indication of their usefulness.

In the field of education, the major development emphasis over the same period has been in the following areas:

- localisation of curricula and examinations at the secondary school level;
- upgrading of the quality of teachers;
- provision for greater access to basic education at the primary level;
- provision of more appropriate agro-technical education; and
- development of tertiary education within the South Pacific.

Development in these areas has taken place in response to needs and pressures relating to the movement towards independence and self-government in the South Pacific region and consequent changes arising from it. The above developments had to be accomplished fairly quickly to keep pace with demand but little time and effort have been devoted to studying their impact, not only in respect of educational goals but also in terms of broader social and economic goals of the countries concerned.

This chapter focuses on four aspects of education in the South Pacific:

- the development of educational systems in the islands and study of the influences - both local and external - which have affected their development;
- an examination of the effectiveness of schools to meet the challenges of independence and post-independence;
- an examination of alternative approaches to education in the light of emerging issues and challenges of small island states;

- a discussion of implications of school developments for higher education.

Although this chapter makes some generalisations about the islands of the South Pacific, it is restricted in two ways. First, it deals only with 'small' islands with a total population of less than 1,200,000 and an area of land of less than 20,000 km^2. Those islands falling within this category, according to Doumenge (1983) in his paper 'Viability of Small Island States', are 'true' islands which suffer from the full effects of the constraints of remoteness and insularity. One of the islands covered, the Solomon Islands, has a land area of 30,000kms^2 but a population of only 286,000 (1986). It is felt that the Solomon Islands also shares with the other small islands of the South Pacific the effects of insularity and remoteness identified by Doumenge, and it is therefore treated as a 'small' island in this study.

The chapter draws examples extensively from four small island states, namely the Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Fiji and Western Samoa. These island states share a colonial history like many others in the South Pacific; they are now all independent and have some system of democratic government. They are at various levels of socio-economic development, and they look to their educational systems to solve many of their development problems. In many ways, the education problems faced by these countries are common to the ten independent or self-governing countries of the South Pacific.* These countries are treated as a unit or a region in this study.

A number of generalisations are applicable to a certain degree to large or 'continental' islands (Doumenge, 1983), like Papua New Guinea and, to a certain extent, to the Micronesian islands of the North Pacific (Northern Marianas, Marshall Islands, Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia) which are self-governing and are in free association with the United States. However, the chapter would have less relevance to those islands in the Pacific that have not attained either political independence or self-government status. The latter have not been required to face up to the kinds of problems associated with independence and/or self-government with regard to satisfying the rising educational aspirations of the electorate, meeting the need to train middle and high-level manpower to replace departing expatriates, and making their educational systems responsive to a changing employment situation and other national developmental needs.

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*This includes the following independent and/or self-governing countries: Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Western Samoa, Cook Islands.

Educational Developments

Changing Role of Education

Education is broadly conceived in this chapter as initiation into the ways of life of a community or society (Peters, 1966: 65), and includes both the informal and non-formal initiations that take place in the home and community, and formal schooling. A great deal of change has taken place in the Pacific islands particularly during this century, and the Pacific islanders have had to change correspondingly fast to keep pace.

The Pacific islanders, in the words of a New Guinean who was a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea, Mr Renagi Lohia, 'have had to run in order to remain on the same spot'. As a result of ongoing change, education itself - its goals, content and form - had to change in order to be effective in initiating people into their communities.

Perhaps the greatest amount of change has taken place in the educational systems of the independent or self-governing islands of the South Pacific on which this chapter focuses, as they have had to meet the manpower demands of independence in a very short time and also have had to satisfy the rising education aspirations of their people. The islands in the French sphere of influence, although gradually moving towards self-rule, are still very much in a colonial situation; their educational goals, form, and content are still tied to those of metropolitan France.

The islands which are part of or are in some association with the USA are still under the influence of the American educational system, but there appears to be growing realisation among them, especially those that have achieved some degree of independence like Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, of the importance of developing their own identities, in which education must play a part.

Education for Continuity

Unlike schooling, non-formal and informal educational activities were carried out in villages by older members of society prior to the coming of the missionaries.

A number of early studies by anthropologists has captured some of the ways in which societies in the islands ensured that their values, skills and attitudes were passed on to the younger generation (Mead, 1930, 1943, Firth, 1936). This type of education is referred to as traditional education and it involves both 'informal' and 'non-formal' to differentiate it from 'formal' education which takes place in a school setting.

Informal and non-formal education were (and are) concerned with the continuity of society in which adult members passed on to the younger generation what they had acquired through informal and organised experience. Much of the learning took place in practical situations in which young members of society would observe and imitate the adults and, with adult supervision, develop appropriate skills in various fields. Similarly, by observing adults and those older than themselves, the young people learned appropriate attitudes towards their elders, peers and members of outside groups. The elders would relate legends and stories to the young which would explain their history, their origins, their value systems and their view of the universe. Learning was pragmatic and its outcomes were easily observable in terms of the acquisition of food and other necessary materials and comforts for the family, and the demonstration of acceptable attitudes, values and behaviour for community survival. In many cases, very formal teaching of rituals and rites was undertaken by those specially authorised in society to do so (Allen, 1967).

Today, informal and non-formal education exist side by side with formal education and they play important roles in teaching community skills, particularly in rural areas where the extended family is still largely intact and the economy predominantly at the subsistence level.

In towns, many functions performed by informal and non-formal education are passed on to the schools, but, because of the inability of schools to perform such tasks, much is lost. The parents and elders of the present generation in the South Pacific did not receive as much schooling as their children; they continue, however, to play some role in the formal and non-formal education of the young people in the new setting. In this way, they maintain some continuity.

Education for Change

Mission Schools. The concept of the school was introduced to most of the islands of the Pacific by the Christian missions. The mission efforts were later followed by those of the government but the objectives of the mission and the government in the education field, at least during the pre-independence period, were different and even contradictory.

The mission schools were primarily concerned with the evangelisation of the islanders. Wherever they settled, the missionaries translated the Bible into the local languages and their schools taught the local people how to read and understand the scriptures. The curricula of the mission schools focused on reading and writing in the local language and on basic numeracy. They also taught practical skills like agriculture, house building and elementary hygiene. The medium of instruction was usually the dominant vernacular language of the local area.

The missionaries were concerned with total societal changes and both the church and their schools played a part in that effort. The islanders were not only converted - which was the main objective of the missions - they were also introduced to new and more 'civilised' ways of living, based on Christian principles. The school became an agent of change and it taught the requisite skills and attitudes necessary for living in what was conceived by each mission group as constituting Christian society. The early schools were conducted in churches or in the compound of the local pastor who, in some cases, was also the teacher. Gradually, separate school buildings were built and a separate cadre of teachers was trained.

Government Schools. Government entered the field of education slowly and almost reluctantly especially in former British or New Zealand territories like Fiji, Western Samoa, the Solomon Islands and Kiribati.

Government involvement in education preceding independence or self-government of many of the islands may be divided into two phases. During the first phase, colonial governments in the islands were concerned largely with the training of clerks and public servants needed to run and maintain the colonial administration. The second phase occurred when the education systems were expected to respond to the needs of preparing people for self-government and independence, however these needs were to be conceived.

The first phase began with governments' entry into the field of education and continued until government recognised the need for its educational system to be preparing citizens for political independence. The timing and duration of the second phase varied from one island to another but it did not occur for any of the British colonies (including those in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean) any earlier than the end of World War II, when the British Government accepted as its official policy to guide colonies along the path of full responsible government within the Commonwealth. The second phase is dealt with in the next section of this chapter.

The government schools emphasised different objectives and content from mission schools. Unlike the Christian missions the colonial administrations were not as interested in total societal change, at least during the first phase of their involvement. Instead, they were concerned with the development of an efficient colonial administration which needed clerks, administrators and other kinds of public servants. The early government schools were aimed at producing those types of officials.

In terms of the content of education, government schools used the language of metropolitan powers, such as English, French and German as the medium of instruction and they also introduced foreign curricula and examinations. This trend, in lesser form, is still evident in some of the independent countries of the South Pacific. The New Zealand School Certificate and the New Zealand University Entrance examinations for example, which were taken in Forms five and six respectively, were being taken by most of the secondary schools of the independent countries of the South Pacific until their discontinuation in 1987 and 1988 respectively. In the past, foreign teachers were brought in to teach at the schools from either New Zealand or Great Britain, and a few came from Australia. The use of Peace Corps teachers and before that Japanese teachers in the American Pacific group, was for the same purpose. As a result, schooling placed a lot of emphasis on academic and often irrelevant learning for the purpose of passing external examinations.

When technical education was introduced, it did not receive the same emphasis as academic education. In time, technical education also became 'academic' in orientation through its inclusion as an examinable field of study in external examinations and thereby received respectability. In cases where this did not happen, technical subjects and courses were earmarked for those who were considered not bright academically.

Government and Christian Mission Relations. The government and mission schools existed side by side serving different functions and different groups in society until the government exerted its influence on the mission schools through a system of financial assistance. Gradually, the mission schools were taken over except for a few which preferred to be independent. As part of the conditions of taking over, government set certain requirements relating to the medium of instruction, curricula, examinations and the minimum qualification of teachers. In some cases, as in the Solomon Islands, the missions were not entirely happy with government intervention and this led to a period of strained relations. The development of a more co-ordinated national educational system, however, enhanced the capability of such systems to respond to the demands of self-government and independence.

Meeting the Needs of Independence

Education for National Development

During the 1950s and 1960s, the notion of government involvement had become well-established in the South Pacific region. Hitherto, increased government involvement had been hampered largely by limited financial resources. However, during the 1950s and 1960s the austerity of the immediate post-war years had passed and a more favourable period of economic growth had set in. The colonial governments in the islands were faced with the need to prepare their countries for the gradual movement towards independence. On the international scene, economists were pointing to education as a critical factor in national development and they had stressed the importance of developing human resources and manpower, and the need for national planning (Bowman, *et al.*, 1968; Anderson and Bowman, 1965; Robinson and Vaizey, 1960).

As referred to earlier, the second phase of government involvement in education which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s was characterised by increased government participation. Unlike in the first phase, government was no longer just a participant in the venture; it was expected to co-ordinate and direct not just education, but also the whole social, economic and political development of the country.

The colonial governments in the islands expected the school to play a much broader role in development as the countries moved towards independence. The school was expected to foster a number of broad objectives as for example:

- the development of national consciousness in multiracial Fiji;
- the development of an appreciation of the limited opportunities in an atoll environment such as Kiribati;
- the countering of the heavy academic emphasis in education in the Solomon Islands and Fiji; and
- the preparation of appropriate manpower to meet the needs of independence.

The outcome of schemes designed to bring about the above stated objectives was not encouraging. But the most successful objective of the school was the development of the required manpower for independence.

Academic Education

As can be seen from the above, much was expected of the school in the preparation for independence and self-government, which previously the school did not have to provide during the colonial period. Many of the objectives expressed in the education plans and reports contained ideas which education planners and professional educationists desired but which were new to the teachers, let alone the parents. The latter paid hefty school fees for their children and they expected them to receive the kind of education which would give them well paid jobs such as those to be found in the public services of the Pacific Islands. They knew that these jobs were obtained by people with academic qualifications, hence their desire to have a similar type of education for their children.

The school was seen as an agent of reform. The governments expected it to avert or solve major problems of society but no government provided any comprehensive programme of reform based on some widely held ideology such as *Ujaama* in Tanzania (Nyerere, 1968). The Tanzanian experience was often referred to but not well understood by the public or the teachers. The teachers paid lip service to the new ideas but went on to do what they knew best, which was to teach in the formal and academic way.

Agro-Technical Education

During the 1970s, governments of the South Pacific countries were concerned about the over-emphasis on academic education in their schools and plans were devised for the establishment of vocationally oriented schools to be located in the rural areas to serve the needs of the majority of the students. In Fiji, the Education Commission in 1969 endorsed this idea but cautioned that, because the schools would necessarily be located in rural areas, they should not be second best. The Commission urged that they should be of high standard, and that careful consideration should be given to their location (*Education for Modern Fiji ...*, 1969: 52).

In the Solomon Islands, the Education Policy Review Committee came to a similar conclusion when they recommended the establishment of the (then) Area High School in 1974 (later known as the New Secondary School).

The Community High School in Kiribati - established in 1978 - was supposed to be anchored in the community and be a centre of community adult education training. It was to rely on the community for the teaching of traditional skills. It was therefore like a halfway house between the school and the community, serving the interests of both. Its anomalous position created some difficulties because the villagers looked on it as a school trying to teach some of the skills of the village which they thought would be better learnt from living in the village.

In Fiji, the number of Junior Secondary Schools mushroomed to about 20 in the first two years of operation, and it was not possible to maintain the level of quality in both facilities and teachers that the 1969 Fiji Education Commission recommended. Insidiously, the pressure for academic programmes built up and the vocationally oriented courses became examinable in the external examinations and the school, in time, became a poor replica of its urban academic counterpart.

The New Secondary School in the Solomon Islands had difficulties in its struggle to survive. It lacked the necessary resources and teachers with appropriate orientation, and its role was not well understood by the community. Even if it had the resources and the teachers, it would still have had difficulty in surviving in its original form because it lacked the support of the parents.

The attitude of the parents in Kiribati towards the Community High School was aptly described by its Minister of Education, Training and Culture in a statement on August 26, 1980, when he announced the results of an investigation on this project and plans for its winding up. The Minister said (p. 2):

> They (the parents) want an academic type of education which would pave the way for paid employment. So Government has been trying to develop a type of schooling which concentrates on practical skills considered to be relevant to pupils who will live in the rural areas and not obtain cash employment. While at the time the people desire an education with an academic bias designed to prepare children for employment in the urban areas ....

The statement of the Minister for Education in Kiribati probably echoes the sentiments of the parents in the South Pacific, particularly in the rural areas, in their expectation of the school to provide their children with modern skills and the knowledge to enable them to get good jobs. It has always been the function of the school, since the government entered the field of education, to train people for the public service.

Employment opportunities of educated people have widened with the opening up of other sectors of employment, but the parents' view still holds true that education leads to employment in the modern sector. Any change in the function or form of the school will be difficult to sell to the parents, unless it can be demonstrated that those graduating from it could gain comparable, if not better, financial rewards than those graduating from academic institutions.

Education, Manpower and Employment

One of the things that the school has done very effectively in the South Pacific has been the production of manpower to meet the needs of independent self-government for the islands, particularly those needs pertaining to posts in the public services. Most of the critical positions in the public services have been taken over by the local people and the process of localisation has been largely successful. In some cases, the pace of localisation has been thought to be too rapid and that local people without the necessary qualifications and experience had been placed in responsible positions, allegedly leading to a drop in the quality of public service.

By the 1980s most of the posts in the public services in the islands had been filled, but the education system continued to turn out academically trained people who could not be absorbed. The number of people that can be absorbed by the private sector - which in the Pacific Islands is necessarily small - is limited. As a result, a lot of school leavers become unemployed. In the case of Fiji, only about half of the 15,000 annual school leavers can be expected to find jobs, the others will have to find alternative occupations or join the ranks of the unemployed - running at about ten per cent. Even university graduates are not finding it easy to find employment; the first hunger strike in Fiji in 1984, by students who had completed their teacher-education qualifications at the University of the South Pacific but were not offered teaching positions, brought this problem to the fore.

The relationship between employment and education in the islands has now become very tenuous. One of the features of islandness - its limited size and population - puts a constraint on the size of the public service and, more particularly, on the extent to which the private sector can expand to absorb the ever increasing number of school leavers. This highlights the need for rapid job creation, especially in islands where there is a high proportion of youthful population.

Meeting the Problems

Disenchantment with the School

The disenchantment with the school which found expression in the South Pacific in the 1970s was really a reaction against the heavily academic curriculum which produced many high school graduates that could no longer be absorbed into the workforce. It was thought that the unemployment of high school graduates was a direct result of the rigid and narrow academic curricula that they followed and that this made them unwilling to take up other types of jobs that were not in the 'white collar' category. The elusive white collar jobs which they sought were available in the capital towns and cities such as Suva, Nuku'alofa, Apia, Honiara and Tarawa, and hence urban drift of youth occurred resulting in overcrowding, high unemployment, crime and other associated problems.

As discussed earlier, the move everywhere in the South Pacific in the 1970s for the establishment of schools which emphasised agricultural and technical education was a reaction against the academic school. These agro-technical schools took different forms but they were similar in their aims of producing people for the opportunities primarily in technical fields and in agro-based industries.

As an indication of such concern, the South Pacific Commission (1978) devoted one of its themes in its 18th meeting in Noumea, 1978, to 'Education for What?' The meeting discussed, under this theme, papers from Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Tuvalu and also Papua New Guinea which described the approaches that were undertaken by these countries to develop the system of schools to meet their needs.

However, by the early eighties, these innovations had been either abandoned as in Kiribati or effectively neutralised as in the Solomons and Fiji, as a result of parents' demands for academic education. In response to such demands, the schools shed their exclusive vocational orientation. That was the end of a major innovation but it left a lesson which was learned at first hand: that a dual system of schools cannot be developed, one for the children of civil servants and professionals, and another for the children of the rural people and those with little formal education, and expect the latter groups to accept the schools assigned for their children without question.

The latter groups comprise the majority of people in the South Pacific and the parents of these groups knew that the best paid jobs were held by those who had gone through academic institutions and they demanded nothing less for their children. One of the reasons which led to the change of vocationally oriented schools to integrating both the academic and practical components, was the recognition by the parents of their rights made possible through the new system of democratic changes occurring throughout the South Pacific at that time.

Following the neutralisation and the abandonment of these vocational alternatives, comprehensive secondary schools were developed. In such schools, both options were available and the choice of courses was left to all the children and parents. This model of course was not new, it had been tried elsewhere and led to the same thing: better students chose the option that gave them the best opportunities in terms of jobs. At least, the choice existed for parents and this element of choice was becoming an important requirement under the new democratic system. In the Solomon Islands, the area high schools became known as the new secondary schools and took on academic streams. The junior secondary schools in Fiji took on both vocational and academic courses similar to those found in other well-established academic secondary schools. Most of them grew to become fully-fledged secondary schools. One of the changes that occurred arising out of this was a clear acceptance of a comprehensive type of academic secondary school which provided for both academic and agro-technical courses. It was not unusual to see the building of new technical or home economics blocks, for example, in many of the established schools. However, the changes in the schools did not alter the job situation in the outside world.

Scarce Jobs

The main impetus which led to the changes in the nature of schools in the 1970s and 1980s was not so much the recognition of certain areas of need, which required a response from the schools, but rather the existence of a growing number of unemployed school leavers particularly in towns and cities. Pertinent questions were being asked as to why the school should be producing graduates who could not be absorbed into the workforce, as if the schools were responsible for job creation as well. Because the school was seen primarily as preparing people for employment, usually in the public service, its role was questioned when it was producing too many people who could not be absorbed into the workforce. Despite the changes occurring in the schools, the problem of unemployment of school leavers, particularly in towns, did not improve. This did little to reduce people's disenchantment with the school.

Search for Alternatives

We have seen the various approaches taken to use the school as an agent of change in the South Pacific and it appears that so long as the school was seen to be acting in concert with the prevailing socio-economic and political philosophy, it was regarded as successful. When its goals were in conflict with the goals of society, it was regarded as ineffectual in bringing about expected changes.

This has been demonstrated with the various approaches adopted in getting the school to bring about required changes or to address some problems in society. The achievement of the school in producing academically trained manpower on the eve of independence for most of the countries of the South Pacific, was indeed a success story. However, the attempt to re-direct education towards vocationally oriented schools was a failure. The latter attempt went against what the people saw as leading to good and well paid jobs. The parents exercised their choice through their newly developed democratic systems in favour of the alternatives that appealed to them.

The attempt to integrate both academic and vocationally oriented courses in a single school was more acceptable and it provided choices for the parents and pupils. Contrary to expectations, however, it did not solve the problems of unemployment, urban overcrowding, crime, etc., faced by these newly independent governments.

Recently, two alternatives have emerged which look beyond the school and in many ways they complement it. The first is non-formal education which essentially involves organised learning by adults outside the school system. This will have a particular appeal for the smaller island states like Kiribati, Tonga, Tuvalu, Western Samoa and the Cooks, because it does not rely on expensive resources or formal institutions but rather depends on community resources and expertise. The other appeal of non-formal education is the emphasis it gives to the development of skills which enable the adult learners to be self-employed. If this is going to be successful, emphasis needs to be given to the learners who have actually left school and are involved or have firm plans to be involved with some self-generating ventures. In some countries of the South Pacific, non-formal programmes are used to pick up school drop-outs; this would not be successful unless the youth have some firm notion of what they need to do. Otherwise this will be used as another opportunity for schooling with much of the expectations that have made schools dysfunctional.

The other approach which also looks beyond the school is the job-training schemes introduced recently in some countries, as a means of preparing school leavers without any specific job-training.* This approach of course assumes that jobs will be available for the trainees at the end of their programmes or that they will be in a better position to be absorbed into the job market afterwards.

It is too early to assess the success of the latter approach but it would appear that in places where unemployment is high as in Fiji and where the public service jobs are limited or scarce, such programmes would have a limited impact. It would probably train people who would have to wait in the queue until a job opportunity presents itself. It would also have a limited potential in the long-term for most small island states where the scope for expansion is limited for both private and public sectors.

Comparing the two recent approaches, non-formal education appears to offer greater potential as it relies on the self-reliance and resourcefulness of the islanders but it is doubtful if it could meet their rising expectations resulting from an increased exposure to Western values and aspirations.

All the approaches taken were well-known, and they had been tried elsewhere in the Western world; they were not radical in any sense. The choices and alternatives were already determined by the prevailing socio-economic and political philosophy influenced by the large metropolitan neighbours in and around the Pacific like Australia, USA and New Zealand.

In a sense, the islands are in a bind. Their choices up to now have been, for the most part, determined for them and all along, their system of schools, their curricula, approach in training of teachers, assessment procedures and techniques follow those of the metropolitan countries. Socio-economic and political traditions and connections have set the context which influenced their choice. Their choices are determined by the prevailing 'Western' liberal philosophy and its capitalistic economic philosophy.

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*Fiji for example, adopted this in 1986; it set aside $2m of its national budget for the scheme.

What Are the Options for the School?

The Role of the School

If one looks at the development of the school in the Pacific, one observes that it has played a primary role as an agent of change. The missionaries used it for their purposes; the governments used it for the production of officials. In the 1960s and 1970s it was used to produce the urgently needed manpower for independence. It became extremely efficient and over-produced trained people. Since then much effort has been spent in attempting to restore some balance. But, given the prevailing socio-economic and political milieu in the Pacific, the school will probably continue to play this role and as the rate of social change accelerates through increased communication and contact with metropolitan powers, its ability to continue to keep pace will be stretched.

It has become apparent that the various approaches adopted, as expressed in the forms the school or the education system takes, are attempts to respond to changing needs. In the Pacific, many of the problems the school has had to deal with are partly of its own making but largely they are the results of socio-economic and political forces in society over which it has little control.

Self-Reliance or Dependence?

The school in the Pacific is part and parcel of its socio-economic milieu and it cannot, of itself, develop a philosophy either of self-reliance or dependence which is inconsistent with the prevailing philosophy. The concept of self-reliance, though it appeals to most, is difficult to maintain in the context of dependence as expressed by increasing aid (Baba, 1990: 23-27). The best that can probably be hoped for is the development of interdependence* between the islands as a group and metropolitan powers. But the chance of this working in favour of the islands depends on the ability of the island states to continue their system of co-operation amongst themselves on economic, political and educational matters. Through collective self-reliance, the islands would be better able to deal more effectively with their bigger metropolitan neighbours.

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*This recognises the limitations of the two bi-polar concepts of self-sufficiency and dependence in the island setting and acknowledges the need for interdependence (Brookfield, 1975).

Form and Content of the School

The school continues to be based on a borrowed model; so long as this borrowed form dominates, attempts to change or adapt content will be counter-productive. The form itself is reinforced by imported hardware and other related accessories.

This process highlights McLuhan's (1967) notion of the medium as the message. A change in content will not drastically alter things given the dominant Western models adopted in the form and orientation or goals of education. It is also difficult for Pacific islanders to get the schools to be concerned with maintaining their cultures and languages. Perhaps the school in its current form is not the best agent to do this! Even if it is, it needs to reconstruct its activities on the basis of emerging priorities.

What are the Options?

It would appear that the odds are against adopting a radical option under the prevailing socio-economic and political circumstances. Any new or radical form will have to be accepted by parents as a result of their choice. The way to get around this is to get the parents to see that the radical options are in the best interest of their children but until then, the school in the Pacific will remain a largely conservative instrument which serves the interests of those in power at any given time.

Perhaps the lesson for educationists in the Pacific is to be perceptive of the changing needs and priorities of society and try and reflect these as accurately as possible in the school. If they achieve even this, they will have done enough.

Some Implications for Higher Education

The development of higher education in the Pacific has been similarly affected by some of the factors which impinge upon the school. Some of these factors are inherent within the system while others are external to it.

However, the net effect of their interactions has produced some discernible patterns which are worthy of comment.

Like the school, the two universities in the region - the University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea - which were started in 1968 and 1965 respectively, were products or by-products of colonial models of that time. They were established by the respective colonial powers at the time. Their purpose or function, form and content resembled the metropolitan universities of their respective colonising powers.

Like the schools, the two universities were expected to serve a developmental function or as Leys (1971) put it they were to be "instruments of development". Commonwealth universities of the 1960s and 1970s were assuming this role in recognition of the crucial role of education in development following the development decade of the Sixties. In this, the universities were expected not only to produce the greatly needed manpower or womenpower, they were expected also to bring their resources and expertise to bear on developmental problems. As a result, courses related to manpower needs such as teacher education, public administration, etc., were initially heavily supported.

In form, both universities were initially conventional, relying heavily on the highly developed teaching facilities of a central campus. In time, this pattern had to be modified in the light of increasing demands for higher education and for a more equitable sharing of opportunities and facilities. This was exploited to the full at the University of the South Pacific, and led to the development of University Centres and Institutes during the period 1975-1983. The University Centres were concerned with extension courses whereas the Institutes provided consultancies and other related activities for member countries.

The University of the South Pacific (USP) was established in 1968 to serve the then eleven colonies, protectorates (now independent and self-governing) and territories associated with the United Kingdom and New Zealand. To meet the needs of the widely scattered countries of the region, Extension Services was set up in 1970 and from this stemmed a network of multi-purpose national University Centres. To extend further the regional 'outreach' capacity of the University a series of Institutes and Centres was developed from 1976. Their role was to complement the work of the schools by responding to regional needs for advisory services, training programmes and consultancies (Crocombe and Meleisea, 1988: 427).

The demand for higher education and associated political pressures led to the development of other national institutions. In the South Pacific this took the form of the National University of Samoa, Atenisi University in Tonga, Solomon Islands College for Higher Education, the Community College in Tonga, the French University of the Pacific in Tahiti and New Caledonia, etc. In Papua New Guinea similar proliferation of higher institutions occurred. This development has reached its peak, and indications are that it will inevitably slow down for two reasons: the saturation of manpower needs in major pressured areas, and limitation of finance. The latter has brought about a major rationalisation of higher education institutions in Papua New Guinea and has acted as a restraint on the number and size of higher education institutions in the South Pacific.

The new self-funding policy of universities in the metropolitan countries such as recently introduced by Dawkins (1988) in Australia means that there will be increasing competition for higher education places in metropolitan countries. This will prove very attractive to Pacific countries and will in fact undermine their institutions, halt development in higher education and force them to consolidate and rationalise their offerings. This competition will enable the consumers to select where they wish to study. It will force greater competitiveness, and encourage the development of 'excellence' in higher education.

Because of financial reasons, higher education institutions in small states will inevitably be disadvantaged in open competition for funds and resources which are held at the behest of metropolitan powers or by multilateral donor organisations (e.g., World Bank, Asian Bank, UNESCO) which metropolitan countries either dominate or over which they have great influence. Such uncontrolled competition for academic commodities in higher education will lead to the syphoning of resources from small states to metropolitan institutions.

This points to the need for a deliberate policy of collaboration and co-operation not only between small island states but more so between the metropolitan powers and the countries of the South Pacific region. At its 85th Plenary Meeting on 22 December 1989, the UN recognised the importance of such collaboration and passed a resolution (Res. 44/211) requiring all its agencies to collaborate with existing institutions in working towards the goal of 'Education for All'. It is hoped that we have passed the rough waters in the higher education free market and that the change in the air is more than just a 'false dawn'. Without collaboration and co-operation of governments and institutions of higher education, South Pacific states will find it extremely hard not only to improve their present provisions in higher education but even to hold on to what they have achieved at great cost to themselves.

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CHAPTER 3

CO-OPERATION AND COLLABORATION AMONG HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE SOUTH PACIFIC AND BEYOND

I.F. Helu

Co-operation and Collaboration as Social Values

Co-operation and collaboration are age-old values in Pacific communities. Other important related values are friendliness, sharing and generosity. Captain Cook's naming of Tonga the Friendly Isles is a sensational early recognition of the role of this chapter of social mores in small Pacific island societies. And it is most probable these values originally evolved as ingredients of a coping strategy, of overall tactics for survival. They are part of the morality of poverty. This would be most natural in resource-poor environments or in small societies of low-resource-exploitation level, and most Pacific island societies are both or at least one. On the other hand, resource-rich islands or lands may not have communities that emphasise these values but instead develop ones which are rooted in some form of rapacious competition. In these circumstances the only thing hindering the development of the more 'brutal' values is the small size of the communities caused by geography or the low state of technology.

In small or more or less egalitarian communities co-operation and collaboration as values have a basically economic effect. As society develops and fragments into classes and institutions, these values tend, at first, to remain within single classes. Up to this point co-operation and collaboration promote harmony and peaceful co-existence between the members of small communities and of the same social classes or groups with the same aims. But it is at this point also that these values begin to show a different side of themselves - their political side. For members of the same social class can co-operate and collaborate in their struggle against other social classes. But the full effect of the political side of co-operation is witnessed in interclass or inter-institutional co-operation and collaboration. For the most powerful class or institution in such associations will tend to dominate and exploit the less powerful classes or institutions in the name of co-operation. Needless to add this state of affairs obtains also in international co-operation between countries. What we recognise from the foregoing analysis is that co-operation and collaboration - and in fact all the 'values of peace' - have their darker side; that when they describe relationships between members of the same social group or between groups with the same or similar interests they are quite beneficial and contribute to real progress; but between classes or institutions with different specific aims and interests they usually become tools of oppression and control. In other words, such values are the stuff of ideology in the Marxist sense of the term, i.e., they hide the potential for coercion, exploitation, and deception that lie at the bottom of these concepts.

Co-operation and Collaboration Among Higher Education Institutions

Educational institutions together constitute a historical social movement with distinct specific interests. According to the French sociologist, Turaine, a social movement must fulfil three requirements:

1. it must have a distinct identity;
2. it must at least be aware of its relationship (or obligation) to the totality, i.e., the society, as a whole; and
3. it must secure some means of its continuance.

Though Turaine does not analyse these criteria in detail, I want to consider them for the case of education so as to bring into sharper focus the theme of this chapter and enable us to see what type of co-operative coalition is advantageous to institutions and what is harmful.

In education, the first criterion is fulfilled in terms of morality. Taking morality to be, in general, accepted experientially derived ways of doing things, we see that education is truly unique and clearly demarcated from all other social movements and institutions. Morality issues are equated with values or general aims which are promoted by people. But these general aims or ways of doing things differ from movement to movement and from institution to institution. Educational morality is not only different from other moralities, its content, i.e., the specific interests of educational inquiry, is of a type not actively promoted in other ways of life except true artistic production. One can put all values into two classes: the interested and the disinterested. In the former, we would include success, profit, fame, power etc., and in the latter, excellence, truth, objectivity, cosmopolitanism, etc. Of all social movements and institutions, only education in the distinctive sense of the term has the disinterested values as specific interests. We can also characterise the difference between the non-educational values and educational values as values aimed at promoting security and survival and values which are not so aimed and may, at times, jeopardise security and survival. Interested values are essentially means, i.e., they bring about security and survival. Not so with disinterested aims - they are desired for their own sake.

As for the second of Turaine's requirements, I wish to point out that this cannot be an indispensable element in the definition of education as a social phenomenon. This is not to deny that education is a social institution nor is it to deny that education can and should contribute to society's advancement - education has contributed, in fact, to society's forward movement more than any other social institution. But the requirement is simply not of its essence. Because of the disinterested nature of education as defined in this chapter, it cannot be constrained to continually and exclusively channel its energies beyond itself without compromising its true character and eventually destroying it as a distinct social movement with a distinct character of its own. Instead of being mindful of a non-existent obligation to the totality, education must always guard against being absorbed or assimilated by other interests. Once such an eventuality is allowed to take place - and this seems to be the case with higher educational institutions in the South Pacific - Turaine's first condition of a distinct identity ceases to hold.

Finally, for the third criterion. This seems to be the area where education as a social movement and higher education institutions as the historical expression of that movement most conspicuously fall down by making concessions which imperil their effectiveness to carry out what can be called a 'social mission'. It is precisely the fear of losing subsistence and means of continuance that allow other social institutions to completely dominate education and higher education institutions. It all comes down to an unwillingness to fight for their rights and lack of an aggressive strategy for acquisition of the means for continuity. It must be pointed out in relation to this requirement that *in order for institutions of higher education to preserve their true character and uniqueness they must have a workable theory of their relations to other social institutions and, more importantly, how to deal with them on an equal footing*. They must refuse, in other words, to be treated as essentially instrumental and ancillary in the scheme of things. Insofar as education has failed in this area it can be blamed for the persistence of certain problems in our society.

The amazing fact in modern education is that, in the literature, all discussions of the inter-relationships between society, education and state, the question of the character of education and how that character would change if education is constrained to bring about this or that social or national objective, or whether education can indeed do all those things, is never considered. Always the question educationists ask is 'What can education do for society?' But the question 'What can society do for education?' never crosses their minds. This tendency comes out most forcefully in the work of Coombs which has had a very negative influence on the younger generation of students of education. But it all boils down to the fact that education is no longer recognised to be an independent thing with distinct characters, but merely an effect in the nature of a feeling, and, at most, an instrument.

We can set down the following as tacit assumptions that form the basis of a definition of education as practised in the present period:

1. Education is nothing but an instrument for social betterment. It must therefore be freely adapted in the implementation of development programmes.
2. No inner character of education is recognised and thus there is no need to worry about any harm that might be sustained as the consequence of adapting education.
3. There is no characteristic core of studies that can be recognised as the basis of any system of education. Therefore the curriculum should

change from period to period according to shifts in the structure of community needs.

The whole effect of this situation on South Pacific universities is to make them obsessed with snaring aid from metropolitan governments and international institutions to fund programmes that are determined by external criteria but showing no concern with the effects of such aid on the character of the university as a historical institution or the intellectual integrity of the teaching staff. On the other hand, we can appreciate - and pity - the efforts of the people of the Pacific islands, but it is still a fact that they are misled by the ethic of consumerism and physicality that is increasingly becoming the norm in island life today. We must see culpability for all this in the work of the leaders, who are either recruited foreign 'experts' or locals who have gone through the present system of education. In whatever way we want to look at it, it is a clear case of 'the blind leading the blind'.

The whole rationale, therefore, of any co-operation and collaboration between institutions of higher learning - anywhere, and not only in the Pacific - is to promote education's specific interests as briefly outlined above and to vouchsafe their continuity and independence. Such aims must be pursued with a clear sense of the conflict of interests which is the foundation for the whole fabric of social process, and full awareness of the dangers inherent in the type of co-operation that brings together institutions with very different interests and of vastly different political leverage. The special case of 'collaboration' between education (especially in the scientific disciplines) and states - the state is a special social institution representing, in some cases, certain powerful interests and, in others, a practical arrangement or balance between the sum of interests in society - illustrates the hidden political agenda of the notion of 'co-operation' with singular clarity. Education is always the junior partner - nay, a begging partner.

Forms of Co-operation and Collaboration Found in the South Pacific

The flyer circulated in announcement of the workshop upon which this chapter is based illustrates the kind of confusion which I have been trying to bring out in this short statement. It attests the surrender to the powers-that-be, to the illusion of progress through co-operation between different institutions with education as a valued instrument in the whole exercise. The first sentence of this announcement runs as follows:

> Higher education has become a major vehicle for the economic, social and political development of the South Pacific region.

To complete the transformation of our institutions of higher learning into 'major vehicles' of economic and socio-political development, corporate and public funds are dangled in front of them mainly for research and training (a term which, strictly speaking, means something totally different from, and opposed to, education). But the price for this 'assistance' is slighter literacy, skimpy scholarship, malformed and one-sided curricula, and no contribution to culture. This 'service' is provided in different ways but the principal one is the 'production' of 'manpower'. As the flyer puts it:

> ... they [referring to USP and UPNG] have produced much of the highly trained and educated manpower which now governs and manages the states of the South Pacific.

It is impossible in a model of education which stresses the training of human resources to meet the needs of the economy to escape a careerist orientation. Two points need to be made at this juncture. First, never before have there been more trained people out of work than in today's society. Second, manpower which is the product of careerist and utilitarian models of education will work for improvement of the economy and anything at all but education. The flyer says that 'new institutions in Samoa, Tonga, French Polynesia, the Solomon Islands and elsewhere are now preparing to follow suit'. It also says that 'regional co-operation has always been a characteristic of higher education in the South Pacific'. What is usually glossed over in talk about regionalism is the fact that it is shot through and through with political and economic scheming, especially by the senior partners.

The same flyer is also sympathetic to education supporting independence while simultaneously 'improving relations among Pacific nations and between Pacific nations, the 'Pacific Rim' and the rest of the world'. Now, it is not clear how exactly this intensely political assignment is going to take place. Will it supersede the normal and traditional channels of diplomacy? Or will it flush out a new brand of international politics? No matter how you look at it, it cannot be anything honourable, and much less anything profitable to education. But all this demonstrates the bewilderment wrought by the wrong kinds of co-operation and collaboration which proliferate in the region as a result of incautious application of the co-operative principle. It is a special case of the fallacy of composition. The types of co-operation and collaboration most commonly found in the Pacific have been forces for uniformity and regional homogeneity.

They have been mostly economic and only ostensibly non-political. For instance, the Forum Meeting - which a countryman of mine has called the gymnasium for politicking Australia - can become political when the 'aggressor' is not from the region, as in the case of the French in New Caledonia, but reverts back to the non-political silence where a popular member, e.g., Fiji, is blameworthy. But what does regional homogeneity consist of? Not only do the physical fashions in the South Pacific tend to present a similar look, but also, more indelibly, they instill in people a particular mindset, a psychology that appraises economic development above all else and supplants the true focus of development, *viz.* mankind's real betterment, by one of development's creatures, the production of goods and services. This is particularly malevolent because the Pacific has not been exposed to Western ways of thinking long enough (education embodies a way of thinking, the most distinctively European). And, more importantly, the type of education that the South Pacific has had up to now has been elementary and practical whereas the most distinctively European education is critical and literary (cf. with the whole history of education in Europe where the norm for centuries was literary and humane studies before any idea of political economy or developmental studies was ever even heard of). It is very clear that we now have a different ranking of priorities, one in which things are arranged according to their appeal for the machinery of production, and education makes only a perfunctory appearance therein.

What co-operation and collaboration on education there is in the South Pacific leaves so much to be desired. The most important example here is, of course, the University of the South Pacific (USP). Two types of co-operation are met with here:

- co-operation between the participating governments with USP as the implementing agent; and

- the co-operation between USP and other educational institutions in the region.

As for the first, the participating governments hold the reins in all important issues, even in the domain traditionally controlled by the experts in the field: the teachers, *viz*. curriculum and its content. As an example of the dearth of things educational at this institution, there is no philosophy course, there is no classical or modern language course (apart from a smattering of French taught by corps of young people), and there is no literature course worth the name. The criterion for this last programme seems to be 'local product' (again a political one) as against the truly educational standards of excellence and classicism. Yet it is the traditional type of education that the South Pacific most needs at her present stage of development. But the faculty have no real effect in this area. If any of them are happy with these conditions, they have been politicised to such an extent that they are as good as brainwashed. It is the same with the co-operation between USP and other educational institutions. The political and economic interests and priorities are so dominant as to colour and adulterate their relationships, and all communications between them have to be conducted through highly politicised lines. This state of affairs has been aggravated by Fiji sharking over everything. As always education is the loser. The moral of it all is: *higher education institutions are simply tools for economic development and pawns in international politics.*

Conclusion

The foregoing remarks dispose us to conclude with the following general propositions. They can be regarded as guidelines for the formulation of a strategy for a practical reassessment and reconstruction of institutions of higher learning for the South Pacific.

1. Co-operation and collaboration between institutions of higher education in the South Pacific must be based on a clear notion of what a university symbolises, what its cultural meaning is and its place and 'mission' in the social milieu. This would necessitate a rejection of both the instrumentalist view of education and the service credo, and the allowing

of the university to discover its real historical self which is the relentless scientific search for what is the case - in the process destroying bigotry and falsehoods, new and old, instead of being forced to buttress them - and the propagation of the best and permanent of human intellectual and artistic creations. This aspect of co-operation between universities would especially emphasise *standardisation of core areas of curricula.*

2. We must do away with all forms of anti-academic reinforcements of the present situation with regard to education in order to really cleanse the air and acquire a pure heart. The most virulent types of ideology contaminating education theory now derive from commerce and industry. Thus a whole new anti-educational language is at the centre of the educator's discourse today, though he does not realise that in using it he reveals his inadequacy to deal with education as a social institution. Therefore, terms and concepts are lifted directly from industrial practice and imposed on educational processes with no qualms whatsoever. The tacit assumption must be that industry and education are very similar types of activities - nay, that education can be manipulated in such a way so as to take an exactly industrial character. Of course, nothing can be further from the truth as an examination of part of the said language will reveal:

    a) '*production of manpower*' - Nothing illustrates better the industrialisation of education as this term, where we have two intensely economic/industrial terms connected together in one phrase. Institutional languages reflect the ruling economy of a period. Thus we find early Christianity, following Judaism, using a herding language and still calling people 'sheep', 'fold:', etc.

    Manpower is an extension of *horsepower*, a term first coined during the English Industrial (New Energy) Revolution. What is covered over is the fact that both the *structure* and *process* of education are totally different from those of industry and commerce. For one thing, the separation of owners from owned or the concept of proprietorship is not really found in education since, there, the administrative and productive functions cannot be effectively kept apart. For, unlike industry, in education the competent are the actual 'producers'. Thus to think of education in industrial terms is to add to our muddlement and destroy education and our education institutions.

b) '*eliminating wastage*' - This is business language *par excellence* for it is the very principle of profit maximisation. In educational morality, however, profit is not a value and so wastage control is no priority. In fact the search for truth or knowledge (and the search for effective pattern in art) demands the sacrifice of resources - the quantity is no consideration - in order to gain new knowledge, or to make 'old' knowledge more exact. This means that wastage is a *condition* of all educational inquiry.

3. We must realise that what is happening in South Pacific institutions of higher learning is merely the remote repercussions of a worldwide crisis in culture, in general, and in education, in particular. The technological revolution has brought peoples and places closer together but at the same time social life has become incredibly more complex as people and social groupings try to cope with the rapidly changing circumstances. Many movements have contributed to the present situation. We have mentioned the technological revolution, but an economism and consumption ethos which have been concomitants of the advent of Marxism also lie at the bottom of this new humanism and salvationism that strike at the heart of disinterestedness and logically based standards. Other movements that have taken their toll on universal culture and educational inquiry are the new 'openness' condemned by Alan Bloom as really a 'closure' of the mind, feminist agitations, and, most recently, postmodernist positions which are really curious mixtures of irrationalism and abandonment of positive standards. It is no wonder then that this present crisis is such a pernicious event in the history of mankind, one that threatens the very continuity of education as traditionally understood and also of universal culture. It is a resurgence of barbaric sentiments more sinister than any station in Vico's *Ricorsi*. The only hope for culture is in maintaining the true character of education by incessant and committed struggle.

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CHAPTER 4

THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN AID ON PACIFIC MORES, IDEAS, AND TRADITIONS

Pa'o H. Luteru

In the development literature it is now widely accepted that it is the human resources of a nation, not its raw materials or capital, that ultimately determine and shape the pattern, rate and character of its economic, social and political development. In the context of the Pacific island countries (PICs*), very little analysis had been attempted in this area until the 1980s (Brock and Smawfield, 1988). For many of the small and resource poor PICs, the only real resource at their disposal for development is people. It is, therefore, not surprising to hear Pacific islanders promoting education, at all levels, as one of the more practical solutions to their development predicament and as a way of acquiring standards of living prevalent in the donor countries. The link between education (and higher education in particular) and development in the PICs is therefore strong.

But the task of providing adequate opportunities and access to higher educational services in the PICs is severely constrained by the weak and limited resource bases of these countries and their inability to generate adequate revenue to fund these services. The dispersed and fragmented nature of these islands also contributes to increased costs. This is further compounded by the fact that higher education, by its very nature, is an expensive commitment for any country to undertake. One of the main contributing factors to high costs associated with the provision of higher education is the cost of specialist staff. Caston (1989: 315) observes that, even in third world countries, universities necessarily have Western standards of consumption. Staff in specialist areas need to be paid competitive international market salaries to deter them from finding employment elsewhere. Seeking alternative sources of funding is, therefore, of central concern in the establishment and maintenance of any institution of higher learning in the PICs. For PICs, foreign aid has been the main resource supplement in the development of their higher education. This trend is likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

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*For the purpose of this chapter PICs are taken to include the ten independent member countries of the University of the South Pacific: Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa.

This chapter will examine the various issues emerging from the use of foreign aid (especially Australian and New Zealand aid) by PICs to finance development in the higher education sphere and the impact this has on the lifestyles and accepted practices of these countries. In particular, some of these issues will be discussed in more detail as they apply to the University of the South Pacific (USP).

Pacific Development

One of the most striking but least understood features of PICs is their diversity, not only between countries but also within them. This diversity manifests itself in the demographic, geographic, and economic profiles of these countries, as given in Tables 1 to 3. For instance, the average per capita income of PICs in 1987 was approximately US$1,890. However this masks the large variations in GNP per capita which exist between these countries. Nauru, the wealthiest, has a per capita income (US$10,230) which is 24 times greater than that of the Solomon Islands (OECD, 1989). In the area of language the Polynesian countries exhibit a common linguistic heritage while the Melanesian countries, especially Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, have well over 200 distinct languages (Teasdale, 1990). These factor have a direct bearing on the type of tertiary education which is relevant and appropriate for the development of these island nations.

Table 1
Geographic and Demographic Indicators

	Land Area km^2	Sea Area km^2 (000s)	Population 1987 (000s)	Pop. Density Persons per km^2
Melanesia				
Fiji	18,272	1,290	722	40
Solomons	28,369	1,340	293	10
Vanuatu	11,880	680	150	12
Micronesia				
Kirbati	690	3,550	66	96
Nauru	21	320	8	381
Polynesia				
Cook Islands	240	1,830	17	71
Niue	259	390	3	11
Tonga	699	700	99	142
Tuvalu	26	900	8	308
W. Samoa	2,935	120	166	57

Source: World Bank Report, 1989: 230; OECD, Chairman's Report, 1988; *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, NCDS, 1989: 44; Browne and Scott, 1989.

One of the main differences between the PICs lies in their resource endowment and in the degree to which their economies have been distorted by outside forces such as aid, remittances, and other forms of foreign investment. In an attempt to classify PICs according to their degree of economic independence and their potential for achieving such a goal, the Forum Secretariat, formerly South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation (SPEC), and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) arrived at the following groupings:

(a) Group 1: *Self-sufficiency and Growth Model.* This group consists of Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Fiji is already capable of achieving economic independence, minimum aid dependence and the prospect of growth in a number of sectors. The other two countries have good prospects of raising income, because of their large undeveloped natural resource base, to a level where they can stand independent of aid if appropriate policies are adopted.

(b) Group 2: *Micro-state Model.* The Micro-state Model comprises four countries: Cook Islands, Kiribati, Niue, and Tuvalu. Two of these

Table 2
Economic Indicators

	GNP/Capita US$ 1987	Real Growth rate 1976-86		Total ODA from all sources 1984-87	Development level	Import as % of GDP 1984	ODA as % of GDP 1983
		GNP/Capita	GNP				
Cook Is.	1,550	1.9	2.4	55	LMIC	88*	45*
Fiji	1,510	1.2	3.2	141	UMIC	48	3
Kirbati	480	-0.2	1.7	55	LLDC	107	69
Nauru	10,230	4.8	6.2	0	UMIC	NA	NA
Niue	1,750	5.9	2.9	18	UMIC	70†	188
Solomon Is.	420	5.7	9.4	127	LIC	75	27
Tonga	730	3.0	3.8	66	LMIC	66	30
Tuvalu	650			38	LLDC	162	105
Vanuatu	1,020	0.4	3.0	121	LLDC	90	27
W. Samoa	560	0.3	1.2	98	LLDC	61	27

*1982 data; †1983 data

Source: OECD Report, 1988: 250-253; World Bank Report, 1989: 230; AIDAB, 1987a: 14-16; Browne and Scott, 1989: 31; OECD, 1989: 285-287.

Table 3
Political and Social Indicators

	Year of Independence	Sovereign Status	Ethnic Grouping	Adult Literacy rate (1980) %	Life Exp. at birth (1986*)	Infant Mortality rate under 1 yr (1980)
Cook Is.	1965	Free Ass	Polynesian	91.8	70	36
Fiji	1970	Ind Rep	Melanesian	75.0	70	26
Kirbati	1979	Ind Rep	Micronesian	95.0	68	38
Nauru	1986	Ind Rep	Micronesian			
Niue	1974	Free Ass	Polynesian	100.0		
Solomon Is.	1978	Ind State	Melanesian	51.0	68	38
Tonga	NA	Monarchy	Polynesian	99.6	65	36
Tuvalu	1978	Ind State	Polynesian	98.0	68	38
Vanuatu	1980	Ind Rep	Melanesian		63	10
W. Samoa	1962	Ind State	Polynesian	97.8	65	33[†]

*Life expectancy for Fiji, Kirbati, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Western Samoa are for 1987; [†]1981-83 data

Source: World Bank Report, 1988: 289; 1989: 230; AIDAB, 1987b; Browne and Scott, 1989; *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, NCDS, 1989.

countries have achieved some measure of economic independence through the establishment of trust funds. In the case of Kiribati, the Revenue Equalisation Reserve Fund was established from royalties earned from phosphate mining in the country (which ended in 1979). The Fund currently stands at about A$180 million. The Tuvalu Trust Fund is smaller (about A$30 million) but the principle is the same; the interest earned has been utilised to off-set shortfalls in the recurrent budget. This type of initiative is perhaps indicative of the direction and form future assistance should take in an effort to lessen the dependence of PICs on annual aid allocations.

The Cook Islands and Niue are heavily dependent on aid, especially from New Zealand, for their survival and are amongst the most aided countries in the world. For instance, in 1985 each Niuean received 1,750 SDRs and each Cook Islander 500 SDRs from all aid sources (AIDAB, 1987a). Because of their extremely small population and land areas it is virtually impossible for countries in this group to substantially increase income through domestic production.

(c) Group 3: *Subsistence Affluent Model.* Included in this category are Tonga and Western Samoa. The natural resources of these countries are adequate to sustain more than minimum subsistence, but possibly not to aspired levels. These countries are also characterised by their heavy dependence on overseas remittances. In 1988, for example, Western Samoa received WS$73.8 million from remittances compared with WS$31.5 million in exports from all other sources (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1989: 25-27).

(d) Group 4: *Expiring Boom State Model.* Only phosphate-rich Nauru belongs to this group. If appropriate investment policies are pursued, Nauru would have no future need for external assistance.

It should be pointed out that the above classification of PICs is just one model which could be applied and is based on an orthodox development theory which is dominant in donor countries. What is more important to note is that because of the differences which exist amongst PICs the solutions to the development problems of one will not necessarily be applicable if transplanted to solve the development ills of another. This would have implications for the form and level of tertiary institutions which are needed to achieve the manpower requirements of these countries. But of more immediate concern to PICs must be the question of which activities are best undertaken by institutions of higher education at the national level and which would best be served by taking a regional approach. But for most of these countries, the issue of adequate funding is critical.

External resources are a key element in the drive by PICs towards economic development. With the exception of Fiji they are heavily dependent on aid to finance their development efforts, and will continue to be so in the foreseeable future.

The major sources of external funds to PICs have remained fairly constant throughout the last fifteen years, although there has been a noticeable increase in the number of donors involved and a corresponding decrease in the dominance of any one donor. Bilateral aid is by far the most dominant type of aid channelled into the PICs and accounts for the bulk of total Pacific external resource flows. Nevertheless, the influence of multilateral agencies has been growing over the last decade.

The flow of aid to PICs has been influenced primarily by earlier historical ties, although evidence now shows this influence to be waning. It is also of interest to note that, given the current trend in both the direction and volume of aid flows to the PICs, it would be fair to conclude that these countries will increasingly look towards non-English speaking nations as an alternative source of aid in the future.

To date, Australia, the United Kingdom and New Zealand remain the major bilateral donors to the region. In the multilateral sphere, the EEC and UN agencies are the major donors. In real terms, aid to PICs from their traditional donors has been declining since the early 1980s. However, a corresponding increase in the number of donors willing to assist the region has contributed to buffering the effect of this decrease.

On a per capita basis, the PICs are the most aided in the world. This has led to some of these countries developing highly sophisticated aid recipient skills (Luteru *et al.*, in press). But this large flow of aid (see Table 4) has also contributed to fostering a dependency mentality within PICs and reduces the desire for self-help and initiatives.

Table 4
Total ODA to PICs From All Sources

	Aid per Person (US$)		
Country	Global Aid 1988	Australian Aid 1987-88	NZ Aid 1987-88
Cook Islands	706		02
Fiji	75	22	4
Kiribati	242	26	26
Niue	1,667		1856
Solomon Islands	198	27	5
Tonga	192	61	29
Tuvalu	1,750	540	480
Vanuatu	260	60	12
Western Samoa	187	42	24

Source: OECD, 1989: 239; *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, NCDS, 1989; World Bank, 1989: 230.

Note: The high figure for Tuvalu should be treated with caution because of the effect of the Trust Fund attracting large amounts of aid resources in 1987 and 1988. The average figure for Tuvalu during the 1980s would be around US$500 per person.

While there is a general acceptance amongst PIC governments of the important role that aid plays in the development process, they are also concerned with the unwelcome effects. The Kiribati DP6 (1988: 20) is representative of such concern in its strong declaration that ' ... only that assistance which contributes to the development goals without mortgaging the strengths and resources of our country will be accepted'. The need to ensure that aid resources are well utilised is also evident in PIC government policies. According to the Western Samoa DP5 (1984: 15) it is essential that efforts ' ... be made to ensure that aid flows into key development areas'.

Donor Motives For Aid-Giving

The primary stated objective for global aid-giving is based on altruistic motives, although donors' self-interests are also acknowledged. Australian and New Zealand motives for giving aid are no different although the emphasis between their various interests may differ. For instance, the principal objective of the Australian aid program is given as the promotion of '... economic and social development of the peoples of developing countries, in response to Australia's humanitarian concerns as well as Australia's foreign policy and commercial interests' (AIDAB, 1990:11). Similar utterances are echoed by New Zealand: 'New Zealand's overseas development assistance programme is designed primarily to assist the world's developing countries by providing assistance that better enables them to meet their own economic and social needs .... It also contributes to the achievement of New Zealand's own external relations and trade policies by strengthening international economic prosperity, maintaining peace, security and stability and protecting the global environment ' (New Zealand Ministry of External Relations and Trade, 1989: 1). The area of concentration for the aid programs of these two donors is given as the Asia-Pacific region, highlighting the strategic, commercial and political interests of these donors.

Between 1976-77 and 1985-86 total Australian aid to PICs increased from 3.7% to 8.4% of its bilateral program, excluding aid to Papua New Guinea. This compares with over 84 per cent of the New Zealand aid program directed to the same countries in 1985 (AIDAB, 1987a; New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1985).

The distribution of this aid by main purposes within recipient economics provides some interesting comparisons between Australian and New Zealand over the period 1987-88, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Australian and New Zealand Bilateral Aid by Major Purposes:
Commitment as a Percent of Total

	Australia		New Zealand	
	1987	1988	1987	1988
Education	19.8	15.8	29.4	52.6
Transport & Communication	6.4	7.9	2.7	2.2
Agriculture	8.2	6.1	10.9	6.8
Trade, Banking &Tourism	0.4	0.7	1.8	6.3
Program Aid	38.7	50.2	24.9	13.3
Others	26.5	19.3	30.3	18.8

Source: OECD, 1988: 192-93; OECD, 1989: 232-33.

In the case of Australia, budgetary contributions to PNG account for the bulk of its aid program designated under the 'program aid' category. Although not as large, the New Zealand aid program also contains a similar item for the Cook Islands and Niue. The reduction observed for 1988 is due in part to the decision by the New Zealand government to phase out this support to the Cook Islands over a twenty year period. Education was the second priority area attracting Australian aid. However, the situation was reversed in the case of New Zealand aid where the bulk of bilateral resources was channelled to the education sector. Agriculture, transport and communications were the other main areas attracting both Australian and New Zealand aid.

Aid and Development Policies in PICs

Aid has had a direct influence on the direction of development in the South Pacific, and on the policies which have emerged. This assertion is based on a number of observations.

(a) The bulk of development resources are financed by aid. While recipients are perceived to have the final say in the identification of their development needs, the donors also have the right to refuse funding of any project they are not comfortable with. In essence, what is happening is that PIC development has tended to be shaped by the type and form of aid available.

(b) Expatriates working in key ministries within PICs have a tendency to promote their government's views about development rather than what is appropriate for PICs. Locals who receive their training in overseas institutions also tend to be sympathetic to ideas and policies about development which are dominant in the country of their training.

(c) A lack of rigor in the planning apparatus of PIC governments has led some donors to assume a greater role and influence in project identification, and hence in the pattern of development in particular countries.

In brief, aid to PICs has shaped the development policies of these countries: directly, through the selective process of project and program funding, and indirectly, through the influence exerted by aid personnel as well as locals who were trained in donor countries.

PICs see no major difficulties in donors having their own ideas about how development in the region should proceed. Whether the PICs should accept or be forced to accept these ideas is a different matter. Ideally, donors should take the lead, if they wish to do so, from PIC development objectives and not their own. In practice, however, PICs have a much better chance of obtaining aid funding if their philosophy about development falls in line with that of the donor involved. This is also true of aid channelled to tertiary education in the Pacific.

More recently, New Zealand and Australia have moved towards framing for themselves a much more integrated and less fragmented profile of their aid programs to the region than in previous years. One of the approaches adopted to achieve this end has been the preparation of Country Papers which set out the preferred framework for donors' assistance. The sombre effect of this exercise is to make these donors' ideas and preferences much more explicit to PICs in terms of where and how they would like their aid to be spent.

Higher Education in PICs

Individual PICs have educational needs and systems of education which are, for the most part, the product of missionary and colonial influences. Thus, for the first 100 years of higher education in the PICs, theological colleges were the only real alternative to training in metropolitan universities. The focus then shifted to medical training in the early part of the twentieth century, notably with the establishment of the Fiji School of Medicine (Crocombe and Meleisea, 1989). Agricultural colleges were the next to emerge around the 1960s with the Alafua College for Tropical Agriculture based in Western Samoa being the most visible institution of this type. What these early developments had in common was the control and influence exerted by both the church and colonial powers on the type, pace and direction of higher education development in the PICs. It is also of interest to note that these developments were confined to those areas which were perceived to be non-threatening (or reinforcing) to the church and colonial powers' own positions within PIC society at the time; that is, in theology, medicine, and agriculture. Throughout this period, and especially after the second world war, studying in metropolitan universities was the other option available to Pacific islanders. However, this avenue was limited to the children of the local elites who were seen to be sympathetic with the colonial masters.

The slow decolonisation of the Pacific region which began in 1962 with the first PIC (Western Samoa) gaining independence, was also accompanied by a new and strong desire within the PICs for expanded access to, and provision of, more relevant higher education opportunities for Pacific islanders. In recognition of this need the departing colonial powers in the region decided in 1966 to explore this issue further, and, by 1968, the University of the South Pacific (USP) was established with its headquarters in Suva, Fiji. The establishment of other institutions of higher education in the region was to follow but it was not until the 1980s that a proliferation of national institutions began to emerge; for example, the National University of Samoa (1984), and the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (1985). This emerging focus at the national level, according to Crocombe and Meleisea (1989: 172) was mainly in response to ' ... regional solutions to national problems' becoming less relevant than they had been when USP was first set up.

But this should come as no surprise for, as noted earlier in this chapter, one of the most striking feature about these countries is the diversity which exists amongst them. Higher education programs that are responsive to the development needs of individual PICs therefore are likely to diverge quite markedly from country to country. However, there still remains a need for a regional response to the training needs of the PICs, especially for programs of a specialist nature framed upon the unique circumstances obtaining in the Pacific region.

The USP

When USP opened its doors in 1968, it attracted a total of 160 pre-tertiary students, mostly from Fiji. Twenty-two years on, the University has 3,464 full-time equivalent students or 9,080 by head-count from all of its eleven member countries (USP, 1990). But, despite this demand from the region for more student places at USP, the corresponding resources to enable the

University to meet its academic obligations have been severely constrained by the ability of these countries to generate adequate resources to meet this demand. Thus, the University has had to operate under severe financial constraints, the effects of which are beginning to emerge. In 1984, for instance, the average cost of a full-time student at USP was F$4,628 but by 1990, this figure stood at F$4,607, a decline of 32 per cent in real terms (see Table 6). Although these unit costs are low compared to those of metropolitan institutions, they are, nevertheless, high in relation to the GNP per capita income of PICs. For instance, the average cost of educating a student at USP in 1987 was 3 times greater than Niue's GNP/capita and nearly 11 times that of the Solomon Islands for the same period.

Table 6
Total Recurrent Expenditure Per FTES (F$)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Current Prices	4,628	4,929	4,383	518	028	4,428	4,607
1984 Prices	4,628	4,792	4,185	4,083	4,060	3,342	3,149

Source: USP, 1989.

In the case of Australian universities, it costs about 3 times more for PICs to send a student to Sydney University and nearly 5 times more to the Australian National University than to USP in 1989. This situation has now reached a point where the ability of the USP to deliver quality services to meet the needs of the region is being questioned:

> ... the University is no longer in a position to make confident claims about the high quality of its teaching and research .... While USP is attracting Pacific Island students in ever greater numbers, it may be that it is no longer capable of attracting the very best - especially when more of these (students) can now study overseas under expanding, and more lucrative, scholarship schemes .... The South Pacific can only have the University it is prepared to pay for (USP, 1989: 158, 162).

It would appear that the regional governments have two options available regarding the future funding of the USP, if they wish standards to keep pace with demand for student places. First, they must increase their contributions to the recurrent budget of USP in real terms or seek increased aid funding. The second option is to cut back on those programs and activities which national institutions can adequately undertake but are currently run by the USP. But, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the economic climate presently faced by PICs and donors alike does not augur well for increased funding, in real terms, from PICs and, to a lesser extent, from the aid community. There is, however, a general desire amongst aid donors for their resources to be channelled more into project rather than program related activities. The second option merits full and realistic consideration, especially in relation to activities and programs where national institutions can play a prominent role.

Financing of USP and the Role of Aid

When the USP was established in 1968, it had an operating budget of F$280,000 (USP, 1975). Twenty two years on, the USP's recurrent budget had grown to about F$15.7 million.

The University Grants Committee is responsible for making recommendations to the Ministers of Finance of the PICs who have the final say as to the level of funding for the succeeding three years. The unique feature of the Committee lies in the fact that, while other University Grants Committees consider requests from a number of universities funded mainly from one source, it deals with requests from only one institution funded from diverse sources.

The current formula for determining USP's recurrent budget is based on average student enrolments on a two year rolling basis (60%), number of staff members working in each member country (30%), and 10 per cent from aid sources (Australia 6% and New Zealand 4%). What needs to be appreciated is the fact that resources for USP's recurrent maintenance, from its member countries, are voted according to their priority within individual PIC development.

Although aid provides 10 per cent of the recurrent resources available to the USP, the role of aid in the total maintenance of the institution is very significant. Without exception, almost all of USP's major capital works program since its establishment has been financed by aid. In 1989, for example, 40 per cent of total resource flows into the University were from aid donors (Teasdale, 1990). Besides financing buildings and equipment, aid has also been used to support staff recruited from major donors such as Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Other forms of aid received by the University include books and student aid in the form of scholarships from donor governments, multilateral agencies, and private sources. In addition, aid funds have also been utilised to allow USP regional staff to obtain training and higher qualifications in metropolitan universities.

Pattern of Staffing at USP

All USP staff employed at the senior level are appointed to three year contracts renewable for a further three years by mutual agreement. The University Council has generally accepted the desirability of maintaining a balance between regional staff and those recruited from outside the region. At present, this balance has tended to settle around 60%-70% for regional appointments and 30%-40% for expatriate staff (see Table 7). There are advantages and disadvantages inherent in such a policy but experience to date suggests that the present balance appears to serve the academic needs of the USP as well as the political interests of the region.

Table 7
Academic and Comparable Staff

	Aug 1983	Dec 1986	Mar 1988	Dec 1989
Regional	149	153	179	161
Expatriate	116	107	72	101
Total	265	260	251	262
% regional	56	59	72	62

Source: Teasdale, 1990.

Of expatriate staff working at USP, most are supported, entirely or in part, by aid resources. Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States all have supplementation schemes operating at USP. Under these schemes, donor nationals, if recruited to posts which are almost impossible to fill because of international demands, have their salaries supplemented by aid to the equivalent of the salaries they would be paid in their own country.

Although some donors have indicated their wish to phase out this type of assistance to USP, it will be some time yet before salaries paid by the University are attractive enough to entice quality staff to work there. A report commissioned by USP and financed by AIDAB on this same issue has recently been completed and its recommendations have acknowledged the need for USP staff to be paid competitive salaries.

Educational Aid

Donor policy towards educational development in PICs cannot be totally divorced from overall aid motives. Allocation of aid resources to the education sector affects the amounts available to other sectors of recipient economies and subsequently donors' self-interests.

How much and where aid resources are utilised within the higher education sector depends primarily on how donors perceive such assistance as achieving their various motives for aid-giving and the priority recipients attach to education as opposed to other competing sectors for aid resources. Other factors which may impinge on this issue include the claim that educational aid by its very nature is hard to account for, administer, implement and assess. On the other hand, familiar arguments in favour of educational aid cover such issues as high returns compared with investment in other areas, and its positive effect on poverty alleviation and basic needs satisfaction (Psacharapoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Tilak, 1988).

Since the 1970s the share of educational aid as a proportion of global aid has remained fairly constant at about 11 per cent. This represents an increase of 3 per cent over the 1960s figure. In 1988, educational aid still stood at 11 per cent. As a percentage of aggregate educational budgets in LDCs, there has been a drop from 15 per cent in 1960-70 to 10 per cent in 1970-80. This reduction reflects the view that, although developing countries still attach high priority to the education sector, they are also compelled to consider the needs of other vital competing sectors for these scarce external resources.

At the global level, education aid is characterised by a number of features. First, the bulk of educational aid is directed to financing projects in higher education (World Bank, 1980: 75). The Pacific and African experience supports this view. For example, of the total bilateral education aid flow into Africa, 42 per cent was for higher education, 16 per cent for secondary education and only 4 per cent for primary education (Harbison and Habte, 1988). This, despite the fact that numerous studies have shown that the returns from primary education are far greater than for higher education.

Second, educational aid has tended to be concentrated on technical assistance and capital intensive projects, such as construction and sophisticated equipment. This distribution of aid appears to be consistent with the donors' desire to tie their aid to goods and services originating from their own countries. Without exception, the bulk of educational aid to PICs is spent on training purposes (mainly in the donor countries), technical assistance in the form of teachers, advisers etc., and capital intensive projects. Since 1984, Australia has funded more students and trainees under its bilateral aid program than any other DAC member country except the United States in 1987 (OECD, 1989: 236).

Between 1976-77 and 1985-86 Australia channelled over 11 per cent of its total aid program to education. Of this amount, 63 per cent was consumed by projects in universities and higher technical education institutions, 23 per cent by vocational and technical training, 6 per cent by primary and secondary education, and 2 per cent by teacher education. In the Pacific, over 20 per cent of its aid was absorbed by the education sector. It is of interest to note that aid earmarked for universities and higher technical education was used mainly to fund capital intensive activities such as buildings, sophisticated equipment, consultants, teachers and experts. In this way the bulk of these funds remained within Australia. In Africa the situation is similar, although educational aid only accounts for 7 per cent of its total aid flow.

A recent development in the link between Australian aid and its influence on Pacific education is the introduction of awards under the Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme (EMSS). The scheme allows students from developing countries to apply directly to the Australian government for scholarships to study in Australia. It thus focuses on the needs of the individual, rather than those of recipient countries. Recipient governments have no part in the selection process. The local control which needs to be exerted on manpower planning and training therefore tends to disappear. Moreover, students studying under these awards are likely to feel less obligated to return to their home countries on the completion of their studies. The effect of this arrangement on the USP has been commented on by its Vice-Chancellor in an article published in*The Australian Higher Education Supplement* (March, 1990). The claim is that Australia is attracting the 'cream' of Pacific islanders at the expense of the USP, an institution to which Australia also contributes large amounts of resources through its aid program. But within Australian tertiary institutions there is also concern about the commercialisation of higher education and its likely impact on Australian students, as noted by Gertzel (1989: 23):

> ... by no means all university members are happy about the commercialism that has taken over, and remain concerned at the implications for the education of Australians as well.

What is now an emerging trend in Australia's aid policy towards the education sector is the move to regard Australian education, especially higher education, as an export industry. This is not a new concept as the idea was first mooted for Australia in the Jackson Report (1984). The establishment of the Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme is further evidence of the path Australia has chosen to take with regard to its overall policy concerning educational aid. The entrepreneurial spirit foreshadowed in the Jackson Report is now evident in the number of Australian-based consultancy agencies eager to reap the commercial benefits of such activity despite strong representations from USP for its services to be utilised. A similar policy has been adopted by New Zealand and came into effect from the beginning of 1990. The policy requires all overseas students to pay full-cost tuition fees for their education in New Zealand tertiary institutions. The rationale behind this new initiative was to ensure '... that public education institutions in New Zealand can respond to the growing international demand for education' (Development Assistance Division, 1989: 3). Students studying under bilateral arrangements will, however, continue to have their fees met from their respective government's bilateral aid program with New Zealand. Some of the adverse and undesirable effects of this type of tied aid already are emerging from the region and some hard and honest appraisals of the situation need to be undertaken before further harm is done to PIC development in general and education in particular.

New Zealand allocates by far the bulk of its aid program to funding projects in the education sector (53 per cent of its total bilateral program in 1988). By purpose, aid for human resource development accounted for 22 per cent of total New Zealand aid between 1985 and 1988. Training awards for study in both New Zealand and regional institutions consumed by far the largest proportion of this aid. For example, in 1987, the training of recipient locals in New Zealand accounted for 76 per cent of total educational aid and 14 per cent for training in regional institutions such as USP. The balance between training in New Zealand and regional institutions remains unpredictable because of a number of factors including political considerations in a number of PICs.

On average, both Australia and New Zealand devote similar proportions of their aid programs to training purposes. In 1988 for instance, New Zealand allocated 18 per cent of its total program for this purpose and Australia 16 per cent (OECD, 1989: 233).

Aid and Higher Education in the PICs

PICs and aid donors both expect the role of aid in facilitating education development to continue in the foreseeable future. However, this role could be in a different direction with a changing emphasis. There are a number of reasons to justify this view.

(a) Higher education is an expensive undertaking especially for small and isolated developing countries. But a growing young population, coupled with the limited ability of PICs to generate adequate resources to pay for this service, means that PICs will continue to look to the outside world for assistance.

(b) The scattered and dispersed nature of the population over vast areas of ocean adds further problems in terms of communication, transportation, accommodation, and administration, all contributing to high unit costs for educational services. Small populations also contributes to PICs' dependence on outside help, mainly because it is not economically viable to provide the full range of higher educational services required by the population.

(c) Some PICs are capable of developing at a faster pace than others. This means that different types of skills will be required, in some cases of a more specialised nature. The diplomas in tropical fisheries and health management(funded by aid) currently run by USP are two examples of

> this type of arrangement whereby the USP is attempting to respond to the individual and specialised needs of member countries. The costs involved in providing such specialised training are likely to be substantial. Aid assistance appears the only viable option.

In the allocation of both Australian and New Zealand aid it would appear that the main focus is at the higher education level. Training of Pacific islanders in Australia and New Zealand, technical assistance, and capital intensive projects consume by far the largest proportion of educational aid to the PICs. But this is not generally compatible with the needs of PICs. With the possible exception of Fiji, all the other PICs see their primary education as the level in most need of outside assistance.

It is difficult for poor countries to be demanding and selective in their aid dealings when donors hold the purse strings. But this is exactly what PICs need to be if they are to realise their limited development potential. Being able to say 'no' to an aid project which may have more immediate appeal, but in the long-term may not be good for overall development, needs courage and conviction on the part of recipients.

Issues

The foregoing discussion shows that the bulk of educational aid has been directed to financing higher education activities. Within higher education the areas of aid concentration are: (a) training of locals in donor countries; (b) consultants, lecturers and advisers from donor countries; and (c) the construction of buildings and the provision of expensive and sophisticated equipment. The following section will discuss how each has impacted on PIC values, ideas and traditions.

(1) *Graduates as Change Agents*

The vast majority of PIC graduates have been recipients of aid-funded scholarships in one form or another and there is no reason to doubt that this trend will continue in the future. Before the establishment of the USP, almost all of these graduates studied at metropolitan universities especially in Australia, New Zealand, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom. Of the first 33 students to graduate from USP in 1971, 26 were from Fiji, 2 each from the Cook Islands and the Solomon Islands, and one each from Tonga, Australia and the U.K. (USP, 1975). Vanuatu's first graduate emerged a year later in 1972 while Western Samoa, Kiribati and Tuvalu had their first graduates in 1973. Since then, the USP has made a significant contribution to the training of the region's graduates.

Besides the familiar argument of training to be undertaken as close as possible to the environment in which the trainee would eventually return to work, there is also another very important argument in favour of Pacific islanders studying at USP:

> Many have lived, worked and played together while full-time students at the Laucala and Alafua campuses. In this context national barriers are superseded, cultural differences celebrated and lifelong friendships forged .... The contribution of USP to regional cohesion therefore is a significant one (Teasdale, 1990: 15).

Clearly, these benefits have served the region well and should continue to form the basis upon which governments' decisions relating to the placement of their aid sponsored students in overseas institutions should be based.

Once the students have completed their programs of study and returned home the impact they bring to the society as a whole is significant especially in their role as conduits for new ideas. The skills they acquire through their training enable them to contribute positively to the economic development of their countries. But equally important is the influence they exert not only on other members of their immediate family but the community as a whole. In particular, younger members of the family unit will look upon these graduates as role models and they can be a powerful source of change within the community.

Politically, these graduates have also been responsible for bringing to the people's attention some of the issues which affect the way in which political institutions and structures operate in PICs. In Tonga for example some of these graduates are questioning traditionally entrenched beliefs about the monarchy and its role in the governance of the people. As well, they are also canvassing ideas which they perceive to be of benefit to the majority of the populace. Prominent among this group are Samuela Akilisi Pohiva and Vilami Fukofuka who are editors of a left wing newspaper called *Kele'a*. *Kele'a* advocates the need for open government and public accountability especially in the affairs of members of the Tonga parliament. Pohiva is a USP graduate and was elected to parliament as one of the 9 commoners' representatives in a landslide. But the impact of *Kele'a* on Tongan society has also led to the establishment of another local paper with opposing views called, *Tonga Ngaue*. According to its editor, Tevita Fasi, the ' ... prime purpose of *Tonga Ngaue* ... is to campaign against any move to change the present structure of our government ' (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1990: 22). This debate has also spilled into the church community with the members of the Catholic and Wesleyan denominations appearing to support changes to the existing political set-up in the country.

In Fiji a similar trend emerged in 1987 when the Labour Party (its senior leadership comprised mainly of Fijians working at USP) and the National Federation Party merged to contest the general election which they eventually won. The resulting events are now well-documented and the impact of these on the life, values and traditions of the Fijian people has been dramatic. One aspect of the coups which is interesting to note was their effect in reinforcing the paramountcy of the Great Council of Chiefs in Fijian society. This was contrary to the spirit in which the Coalition, and the Labour Party, in particular, had canvassed its policies which sought to appeal to the need for common indigenous Fijians to take a more active role in determining their future. As in Tonga, the Methodist church in Fiji was also very visible during the process of change which took place immediately after the coups.

Crocombe and Meleisea (1989) have also noted the effect of the earlier graduates from theological and medical institutions on political leadership in Vanuatu and the Cook Islands.

Another important and critical issue relating to the use of aid for scholarships concerns the notion that it further widens the gap between the rich and the poor in the PICs. In many of the PICs, education is neither compulsory nor free. Thus, the ability of a family to pay school fees often determines whether or not a student can complete secondary school. Under the present system of education operating in the Pacific, it is often the children of the well-to-do who have a better chance of completing their education and thus becoming eligible to compete for aid funded scholarships. Tertiary scholarship awards, therefore, do not address the imbalance between educational opportunities available to the rich and the poor.

What the above emerging trends have shown is the potent role of education in effecting changes at the social and political levels and in questioning deeply held beliefs and views of PIC societies. This chapter makes no judgement about the rights and wrongs of such changes, only highlighting that they are occurring and are likely to continue to do so in the future. What should be kept in mind is that, while a society's values and ideas can never be completely insulated from outside influences, it should also seek to ensure that those enduring qualities upon which its strength lies are not lost. It is also acknowledged that it is very difficult to distinguish the exact effects of aid on society from those of modernisation. However, it can be argued that in many cases, aid has had the effect of accelerating these changes in PIC society.

(2) *Impact of Aid-Funded Personnel*

Because of the nature of their work tertiary institutions, especially universities, demand that their staff are qualified and capable of maintaining academic standards at acceptable levels. For the PICs this is extremely difficult to achieve because of the small pool of qualified regionals from which to recruit. In addition, other organizations operating in the region generally pay higher salaries to attract qualified and experienced regionals, of whom there are few. Lack of local resources to attract expatriates is also a major problem. Aid programs thus become the main vehicle open to PICs for staffing their higher education institutions. This was certainly the case with the USP in the initial years of its existence but this trend is now not as prevalent. Staff funded from various aid programs, however, still form a significant proportion of total staff employed by USP.

The impact of these aided personnel on the PICs is at two levels; directly through the student population and indirectly through involvement with the community as a whole. The biases, values, and ideas of these aided staff can be transmitted through their teaching of undergraduates at various institutions of higher education in the region. This can be instrumental in moulding the ideas and values of the students. At the next level is the impact aid-funded staff make outside their work responsibilities in interacting with the general public. Many of these staff have made significant contributions to the life and development of PIC society not only in their areas of expertise but also in many other facets of Pacific life. In some cases, however, some of these staff have allowed themselves to be drawn into local politics thus creating conflict with the host country. While the notion of free expression and academic freedom must always be cherished in institutions of higher learning, responsibility for refraining from becoming unnecessarily embroiled in local politics should also be appreciated. Others have tended to congregate among themselves forming enclaves in which only they are eligible for membership. In some PICs, for instance, membership of yacht clubs is dominated by expatriates (most of whom are funded by aid) and their gatherings are normally on Sundays. This practice is in direct contrast with local customs which regard Sunday as a day of prayer and rest. The influence of these types of activities on local values and traditions can be detrimental.

(3) *Aid-Funded Consultancy*

Part of the rationale behind donors' requirements for aid to be tied to services and goods available in their own country is the need to ensure that their nationals and consulting firms benefit from the aid they give. In the case of the PICs this is certainly true and nearly all aid projects incorporate a feasibility study component to ensure the involvement of donor nationals in one form or another. Experts and consultants recruited to advise a particular PIC government on the type and form its tertiary institutions should take wield enormous influence on the final decision. This can have a ripple effect on those who study at these institutions at a later date. Because of a lack of local resources, PICs are locked into accepting these conditions. Refusal would normally mean that the project would not proceed. Many of these experts and advisers, however, lack or have very little knowledge of the Pacific and have even less appreciation of its environment and particular cultural values. As a result their recommendations are often found to be inappropriate and difficult to implement in the context of the PICs.

The USP has for a long time recognised the potential danger these 'cocktail experts' pose to the development of the region and has appealed repeatedly to the aid community to consider this issue seriously. However, because of donor interests, no positive development has taken place.

(4) *Infrastructures*

One of the more visible impacts of aid on higher education in PICs is the large number of buildings it creates. In many cases these are of Western architectural design and are perceived to be culturally insensitive. The continued construction of these types of structures, however, is again driven by the donors' commercial interest to ensure the purchase of goods and materials from their own countries. In the context of the PICs the image of higher education institutions is now firmly associated with modern Western type facilities, the more elaborate the better.

To most Pacific islanders, these foreign masses of concrete and steel are regarded as objects of social standing and prestige. It can be argued that for some developing countries, the aura of prestige surrounding the ownership of Western type facilities is the main driving force behind the rush to establish institutions of higher education, not the need for such places. The fact that donors are well disposed to financing projects of this nature also makes it easier for developing countries to say 'yes'.

The closed nature of western constructed buildings, compared to local buildings, can also project the notion of inaccessibility to the general public. Thus, institutions of higher education are often perceived by the majority of the population as foreign entities and not part of the community.

Summarising, aid is an important and vital component for higher education development in the PICs. But despite its many advantages, aid also has been responsible for introducing some undesirable changes in the PIC way of life. One of the central issues confronting developing countries, including PICs, at the higher education level relates to whether higher education should be regarded as an instrument for economic development or as a means of preparing the person to live a useful and fulfilling life in the community. There is no doubt that the current structure and form of aid-giving tends to favour the former view. In this regard, PICs must be fully aware of the implications of accepting aid under current terms and conditions.

For aid to be utilised more effectively to meet the higher education needs of the PICs, it is suggested that a meeting of Pacific island educators, with the blessing of their respective governments, be convened in the near future. Such a meeting would, in the first instance, be restricted to Pacific countries, its recommendations forming the foundation for more elaborate and detailed discussion not only with donors but also regional institutions currently involved in PIC higher education. One issue which such a meeting could address is the role national and regional organisations should play in meeting the higher education needs of the region. Meetings with individual donors interested in assisting would then follow.

Conclusion

Developments currently observed in PICs have been shaped by a combination of factors. Without doubt, the PICs are still coming to terms with the effects of their colonial past and the subsequent integration of their economies into the Western dominated capitalist global economy.

The role of aid and other forms of external investment in supplementing domestic resources is vital. But there are also the negative aspects of these types of flows which have the effect of driving PICs into becoming high consumption societies, especially of imported goods and services. Part of the problem can be attributed to the unrealistically high expectations and aspirations of the peoples of the Pacific to standards of living which PIC economies cannot possibly attain without external assistance. Care must therefore be exercised by PICs to ensure that in the rush to solve one problem they do not unwittingly create others which are even more intractable.

The major theme this chapter has sought to highlight is the impact of educational aid on PIC culture, traditions and values. It has been suggested that aid is a conduit whereby the values and ideas of donors are transmitted to developing countries, ultimately influencing the ideas, values and mores of the recipient.

PICs can no longer afford to be complacent in their dealings with the aid community. They must have the courage of their convictions to say no to projects which would obviously mortgage their resources and peoples in the future and be of no real benefit to them.

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CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS LIFE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Naomi T. Martin

Papua New Guinea (PNG) has become one of the most researched societies in the South Pacific. Since political independence in 1975, there has been an enormous increase in the quantity and dimension of research activities in all spheres of the country's development. This is due largely to the emergence of new needs and conditions generated by the country's shift from her traditional bases of life to the modern cash economy.

The importance attached to the role of research in national development stems from the common belief that research serves as the society's 'think tank'; it produces and supplies to society the knowledge it requires in order to develop further.

Although there seems to be general agreement on the knowledge production role of research, there are different views regarding the nature of research itself and what the role of the researcher should be. These differences find expression in the various strands of research orientations which generally fall within the larger category of quantitative versus qualitative research. While debate on these approaches has become more refined over the years in industrialised nations, their application to indigenous peoples in developing countries such as PNG, has never been considered problematic. Yet, there is in PNG the reality of diverse groups of people with different cultures and historical traditions which may not necessarily accord with conventional approaches to discovering or explaining the 'what', 'how' or 'why' of human existence.

This chapter therefore attempts to explore the relationship between current research approaches and the indigenous way of life in PNG. Since it is not possible to discuss in the space available all approaches to this topic, the discussion is limited only to the dominant research practices in the country, with particular focus on their theoretical premises, concurrently with their corresponding methodologies and their relationship to indigenous visions of reality. The basic intention in this chapter is to draw attention to the need to critically examine research practices in PNG as they relate to indigenous life, as well as generate further discussions on the appropriate meaning and practice of research in the country's education system.

Contemporary Research Practices and the Problem of Methodology

The current research scene in PNG centres around three main scholarly traditions, namely: the ends-means or technical approach, the situational interpretive approach and the critical approach. The first approach reflects an interest in technical knowledge based on empirical laws of inquiry, while the second focuses on how rules and social order are created through interaction. The third approach is guided by a political interest in the way different individuals and groups relate to one another in the society. It sees society to be full of conflicts and therefore seeks to unravel the societal mechanisms which both limit and shape human behaviour and, consequently, the development of the whole society.

These approaches are generally seen to be mutually exclusive, in that they are said to generate contrasting and quite different concepts and analytical tools, to the extent that a synthesis is not possible. However, despite their conceptual differences, they share the common characteristic of confining the analysis of problems to a linear, causal-effect relationship within the boundaries of technico-scientific rationality. Even the 'science' of phenomenology, with its emphasis on 'lived experiences', tends to fall victim to this linear vision insofar as it does not adequately align itself with the idea of 'holism' or synthesis in research pedagogy. For this reason, the choice of methods in contemporary research is largely limited by the either/or dichotomy, so that only one method becomes acceptable for use at any one time.

While each of these approaches has had varying degrees of influence in educational studies, the technical model has been the most dominant across the entire research enterprise in PNG.

In this model, the dominant theoretical conception which informs the diagnosis, description and prescription of problems and their causes tends to equate social organizations with the Newtonian idea of a constantly moving, well-oiled machine. If parts of that machine fail to perform according to what is expected of them, the overall functioning of the whole machine is affected. Similarly, the success of educational organizations is seen to be directly related to the ability of their component parts to function effectively as a whole. The role of the researcher in this case, therefore, is to identify those 'faulty parts', determine the cause of the problem usually by isolating a small sample for study from the selected problem area, and from there provide answers or make future predictions based on the analysis of that sample. The reliability or validity of the researcher's findings is then verified against the type of methods used, the length of time spent and the type or size of sample involved in the study.

Since this model perpetuates itself through its dominance, any deviation from it becomes unacceptable. This is clearly demonstrated, for instance, by the way in which the scientific community tends to scorn and reject individual idiosyncrasies as insignificant in the analysis of social phenomena. The same is true of the cultural context within which indigenous societies function as a whole. Thomas Popkewitz (1981: 3) sees this practice to be a natural part of scientific research for reasons that 'the knowledge of the secular expert, the scientist, is believed to be transcendent, existing separate from social context, cultural location and biography'. This belief itself, according to Popkewitz, legitimises the dominant assumption in both physical and social science 'that technical expertise is necessary for interpreting and finding solutions to problems'.

It is understandable, therefore, that research practitioners in PNG should rely heavily on scientific logic as their only tool for explaining social phenomena. Even research clients are often forced to conceptualise research problems in the same way as does the secular expert. In her study of school-community relations in West New Britain Province (PNG), for instance, Katherine Munce (1985) found that teachers tended to explain parental support for the school mainly in terms of maintaining school facilities, while ignoring other important factors within the indigenous cultural setting. In other words, scientific rationality, by virtue of its monopoly over other ways of knowing, often narrows and sometimes restructures the scope and meaning of social analyses to the extent where interviewees are forced to tell researchers what they want to hear, rather than what the interviewees themselves really think about the problems under study. For example, in a study conducted by a team of university staff and students in 1979 on community views of education in the North Solomon Province, most interviewees revealed their reluctance to express their views openly to outside researchers for reasons that:

- they feared they might say things that did not conform to what the researchers were looking for;
- the researchers may not understand their feelings as well as their own people would;
- their ideas had little relevance to those of 'modern' views.

My own study on 'Community Participation in Community Schools' (1988), also in the North Solomon Province, further confirmed the same pattern of thinking amongst the indigenes about their relationship with outside researchers (Tulaha-Martin, 1988).

While the benefits of scientific rationality to the research enterprise and to society generally can hardly be doubted, how it affects, or is affected by indigenous visions of reality bears directly upon the types of meaning and understanding produced through research. Already, there is widespread concern amongst many indigenes that, despite the large edifice of research on their society, they are still largely misunderstood, misrepresented or dismissed as having little to contribute to formal intellectual discussions in modern institutions of learning. The potential for misrepresentation was brought to light, for instance, in Mary Manser's (1990) study of Provincial High School students' perception of 'living and non-living things'. Students were shown various pictures and asked to distinguish between which things were living and which were not. In the case of the volcano, most students described it as a living thing because 'it moves and makes a noise', and is also 'home' for the great mountain spirit. The same explanation was also given for the river and other things with similar characteristics. When students were shown a picture of a cat, a majority suggested that when the cat appears in picture form, it becomes a non-living thing. But when it is actually alive and walking about, then it is a living thing.

Such interpretations cannot be reduced merely to technical or methodological problems, or to students' lack of cognitive ability, as some researchers have suggested. Rather, they are more closely linked to much broader and more complex issues arising from conflicting visions of reality and philosophical traditions between conventional research practices and the indigenous way of life. A closer look at the philosophical underpinnings of indigenous life may help explain this further.

Indigenous Philosophy

Indigenous philosophy cannot be expressed in quantitative terms because of its cosmic vision of reality. It sees the universe as an interconnected and dynamic living whole in which the earth world, together with the sky and spirit worlds and all other life forms are ONE. Within the context of oneness, man is seen as the custodian of the neighbourhood in creation, with the animals, birds, fishes and the plant world being his neighbours. Man needs them for sustenance, for protection and for sacred rituals and companionship.

The ontology of indigenous philosophy is rooted in the Creator of the universe as the ultimate being and source of all life. When the indigenes speak of the Creator they mean a mysterious lifeforce whose power transcends time and space and all other forms of life in the universe, including the world of the ancestral spirits. It is seen to be one thing and everything all at the same time, meaning that everything in the universe is an autobiography of the Creator. That is why the universe is believed to be a sacred place, for the Creator reveals Himself in it, through it and as the universe itself. For this reason, respect for nature also means respect for the Creator within indigenous philosophy.

The interconnectedness of indigenous philosophy makes it difficult to separate its ontology from its epistemological underpinnings, because one is a form of the other, much like the left and right side of the human brain which have specific, yet simultaneous functions for the good of the whole.

Because indigenous philosophy locates ultimate truth and reality in the supernatural world, religious knowledge is seen as the mother of all knowledge in that it informs and regulates the life of the society. This does not mean, however, that man-made reality is rejected.

For man must continue to survive the challenges of his physical world by learning the ways of being and becoming through his creative talents and his lived experiences. Knowledge derived through man-made reality results in what is described as 'negotiated' truth in indigenous philosophy, because it is subject to changing times and conditions and often to human power and interpretations. This contrasts sharply with religious knowledge which is accepted as a given truth. The significance between negotiated truth and given truth does not lie in their distinction, but rather in the types of functions they serve and to which ends they are directed. In this case, given truth not only informs negotiated truth, but is also served by it.

The teaching/learning approach in traditional education exemplified the relationship between negotiated truth and given truth. When children were taught how to fish, for example, they also had to learn the magic and rituals involved in that skill. They had to learn the right herbs to use on their string lines and baits, together with the right words to say when seeking help and guidance from the Creator. If the fishing trip was a success, they were also taught how to give thanks to the Creator through their ancestral spirit beings. At the same time, they were also taught to share their catch with the chiefs and other important elders as a way of appeasing their ancestral spirits, and thus the Creator, so as to gain their blessing for future success.

The chiefs, sorcerers, rain-makers and other important elders were revered because they were the society's custodians of religious truths, given to them directly from the supernatural world. Thus, the power of faith and belief in divine revelation was and is still central to the mindscape of the indigenous character.

Unlike the widely held view that traditional ways do not generate new knowledge, the indigenes view their way of life as open to change, because it involves an ongoing searching, choosing, questioning and interaction between humans, nature, the ancestral spirits and the Creator. As Whiteman (1984: 95) explains:

> If we recall that the central value in Melanesian culture and religion is the pursuit and celebration of Life, then we can see that rituals were used as means toward that end. The end is Life, pursued through ritual means. This helps us understand why people would

> be open to accepting new rituals in the hope that perhaps these rituals might bring Life in a way not yet experienced.

But the pursuit of life to which Whiteman refers must be understood in the context of the indigenous cosmic view of the world, in which humans are seen to share a reciprocal partnership with the Creator and all other forms of life in the universe. Since this partnership is premised on religious truths, religion becomes a whole way of life. It is a celebration of human sensations, feelings, experiences and above all, ONENESS with the physical and supernatural worlds.

The Dissonance Dilemma

The fragmentary approach in scientific research versus the holistic structure of indigenous pedagogy clearly brings out significant polarities which not only define the nature of contemporary research in PNG but which also point to the limits of scientific research as a tool for enhancing societal progress. By seeing society through linear vision, the scientific model has neglected a whole area of knowledge and understanding which is outside its scope. Thus, it is suggested that research which has followed the scientific paradigm may, in a sense, have failed to broaden our knowledge of South Pacific cultures, rather than to have enhanced it.

That the scientific approach is premised on structures of reasoning which are different from those of the indigenous way also suggests that contemporary research findings are directed by the dissonance between the two approaches, rather than by a genuine free exchange of ideas and knowledge. The idea of sampling and verifying the validity of research findings in the scientific approach, for instance, fails to take account of the fact that indigenous people guard important forms of knowledge or given truths inside the chieftainship or family hierarchy which are not easily accessible to researchers. Such knowledge is inherited only by appropriate heirs according to family blood lines or political status in the society. Where researchers are able to penetrate lines of communication into the normal family or chieftainship structures, they often end up obtaining only surface information which may not necessarily reflect how things really are in indigenous societies.

A full understanding of the surface appearance of indigenous life depends largely upon one's understanding of the 'secret' truths and the corresponding pedagogies which often lie outside the boundaries of scientific research. How these modes of life relate to contemporary practices in research presents an important challenge for modern institutions of learning in PNG. It is in this area where students of research can make a significant contribution not only to social discourse at the international level, but also to the development of an appropriate meaning and practice of research in PNG, if not in the South Pacific region generally.

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CHAPTER 6

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE NEEDS OF SMALL ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

Tuingariki and Cecilia Short

I HAD A DREAM
A BEAUTIFUL DREAM
I DREAMT OF A PATHWAY
TOWARDS HIGHER EDUCATION
BUT WHEN I REACHED OUT FOR IT
I WOKE UP
IT WAS ONLY A DREAM

According to Philip Coombs '... knowledge is the key to a whole family of powers - social, economic, political; that the monopoly of knowledge in the hands of a few is but another name for the rule of a few over the lives of the many; that any people who wish to be authors of their own history and to develop their own way must break up the existing monopoly of knowledge. They must make the right of access to education the common property of everyone and by extension, must also democratize the right of access to progressively higher levels of instruction' (1969).

This is the dream, the dream of island leaders in the South Pacific: to make 'education the common property' of their people and to give the people the right of access to progressively higher levels of educational instruction.

A beautiful dream which, unfortunately, not many small island countries in the region are able to nurture into reality, alone. The reality is that education is a costly, high investment and high consumption business, which many island countries cannot afford nor sustain. In spite of this fact, however, our island leaders without exception recognise that knowledge is an essential part of any plan to move island societies and people to new heights of achievement, and that *education* is the key to that knowledge.

The education we speak of here is not island education. It is imported education; it is a whole new way of life displacing the island life-style; it is Western education and it costs dearly. This is the heart of the problem facing island nations. It appears that there is no turning back. The direction is set even if some perish in the attempt.

We will discuss the development of formal education in a very small island country like the Cook Islands, leading to the provision of tertiary and higher education for the development and the upgrading of human resources in the Cook Islands.

This chapter views the provision of higher education from the perspective of a recipient country faced with the problems commonly characteristic of small island countries in the third world. It concludes by discussing modern alternatives for gaining access to higher education for small island countries, and the expected role of metropolitan partners and international organisations.

Higher education in the context of this chapter is defined as university education; it is a 'specific field of social activity with its particular norms, values, patterns of interaction, culture and authority structures' (see chapter 9); it is education provided by a university utilising the various modes of teaching and research. It includes those programmes of study offered and monitored by a university for the purpose of issuing or awarding certificates under the seal of the University.

The Cook Islands

In order to appreciate the current status of higher education in the Cook Islands, it is important to have a picture of the development of its formal education system from primary and secondary through to tertiary and higher education. This will bear out a vital principle in that the standard of higher education is very much dependent on the quality of the base: that is, primary and secondary education. By tracing the development of education from missionary and colonial times to the self-government era on to the present day, one can gain an appreciation of how a small, island country, given the constraints of size, isolation, declining population and meagre natural resources, has sought to make higher education accessible to its people. This demonstrates how the country, recognising the importance of providing a sound base of primary and secondary education, adopted and pursued policies to establish and strengthen such a base, from which it launched into tertiary and higher education. It follows the observation made by Bacchus and others that '...providing universal primary education ... must precede the development of general post-secondary provision' (Bacchus, 1987).

It is important to consider these developments in the setting of the Cook Islands, one of the smallest countries in the South Pacific.

The Cook Islands consists of 15 islands and atolls with a total land area of 234 square kilometres scattered over approximately two million square kilometres of ocean. Isolation is a factor both internally (between islands) and externally (between neighbouring countries) where 1,355 kilometres separate the most northern island (Penrhyn) from the most southern (Mangaia), and where Rarotonga, the administrative centre, is 3,000 kilometres from Auckland (New Zealand), 2,400 from Fiji, and 1,100 kilometres from French Polynesia, the nearest major centres of higher education accessible to the Cook Islands people.

The population which was in steady growth until 1971 when it reached its peak at 21,323 thereafter started to decline principally through outward emigration. The rate of migration accelerated in the three years following the opening of the Rarotonga International Airport in 1974, so that by 1976 the population had dropped to 18,127. Although the rate has slowed down considerably, nevertheless the country has lost a large number of its most productive age group, the young and skilled. It is one of two countries in the Pacific which has, and is experiencing population loss largely as a result of emigration, so that today there are more Cook Islanders living outside the Cook Islands than at home. In 1986 the population was 17,614, while an estimated 26,000 lived in New Zealand.

The country has meagre natural resources for any substantive economic development that would make it independent of foreign aid. Agricultural production is restricted to the volcanic soils of the Southern Group islands; fishing, and of late, pearl farming, are carried out in the lagoons and seas of the Northern Group islands. In the eighties, the tourist industry developed into the number one revenue earner for the country with agriculture dropping to second place. With limited natural resources for economic development, the Cook Islands along with Niue is amongst the most aided countries in the world, let alone the Pacific (Luteru, 1990).

It is in this setting, and bearing in mind the constraints of size, distance and isolation, limited resources, a fragile economic base and declining population, that we will examine the development of education in the Cook Islands to show the various phases which have led to what is currently available and pursued in higher education. These phases broadly relate to definite government policies in education which in turn were related to the development directions and strategies decided upon by government. These phases are, of course, merely theoretical divisions to serve the purpose of discussion.

Historical Perspective

Phase 1 (1823-1964)

The concept of public education was initiated by the missionaries from the London Missionary Society to facilitate the 'Christianising of the natives' by teaching them to read and write from the Bible.

At the turn of the 20th Century, the Cook Islands was annexed by New Zealand, and from 1912 to 1935, the colonial government gradually embarked on a long-term programme for the development of medical and educational facilities in the Cook Islands. It took over education from the missionaries and established schools throughout the islands modelled on the New Zealand educational system. By 1964, secondary education was being offered up to Form Five at Tereora College, the national college located in Rarotonga.

During the colonial period of government (1901-64), the foundation for a primary education system was gradually established. A small number of selected school leavers were employed by government as teachers, nurses and office workers. Senior administrative positions were held by officials from New Zealand. An overseas scholarship scheme was established for selected students to attend New Zealand secondary schools from the Form Three level going as far as Form Five. Students then returned home to take up employment in government. A few were selected on academic merit to continue at tertiary institutions, training as teachers or for the medical profession. Some studied at the Fiji School of Medicine. Today, some of these doctors are still practising medicine in the Cook Islands.

The missionary and colonial period therefore saw the establishment of a primary education base in the Cook Islands. The 1930s marked the beginning of a government overseas scholarship scheme for further formal education and training of Cook Islanders as teachers and medical personnel. This period also saw the beginning of a training scheme for selected Cook Islanders at the university level.

For the period up to 1964, the Cook Islands gained five graduates with first degrees and two continued to gain masters degrees. From the Central Medical School in Fiji (now known as the Fiji School of Medicine), eleven were awarded NMP, seven gained AMP, two gained AMO and four gained the Diploma D.S., giving a total of 24 medical graduates from Fiji.* From this account, it can be seen that higher education was on the education menu of the Cook Islands though this was restricted mainly to the training of teachers and medical personnel. The access to higher education was mainly by means of government scholarship funding to New Zealand and Fiji. In addition, there were a few private students from the chiefly and business families.

Phase 2 (1965-1974)

This is an important historical period politically for the Cook Islands. It was heralded by the Cook Islands obtaining the political right to govern itself in all matters of government except for defence and foreign affairs. These two matters were to be decided by New Zealand in consultation with the Cook Islands government. Cook Islanders retained their New Zealand citizenship. This was to become a factor in regard to government scholarships for study in New Zealand.

On assuming office, the new government soon came face to face with the shortage of trained and skilled local manpower needed for all levels of government administration and services. Government responded to this situation in two ways. Firstly, it embarked on an active recruitment programme of Cook Islanders locally and from overseas. In addition, it recruited and trained school leavers. It also continued with the employment of expatriate personnel in key and senior positions of government. This policy was maintained throughout this period and into the next.

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*The Central Medical School established as a regional institution by the colonial government in the 1830s was taken over in the 1930s and became the Fiji School of Medicine with some students still coming from the region. The Fiji government wished the University of the South Pacific (USP) to take responsibility for the Fiji School of Medicine (FSM) and its qualifications but after long negotiations no final decision has been taken by USP.

Secondly, it expanded and strengthened the overseas scholarship scheme. Mature public servants were selected for degree studies. The return to the country of these people after completion of studies was more assured. The waiting period was also greatly reduced. In addition, selection of secondary scholarship students was now made at the Form Five level to attend Form Six in New Zealand. Degree studies were pursued at New Zealand universities, and at the University of the South Pacific following the opening of that institution in 1968. Except for the Cook Islands Teachers College, established for the training of primary school teachers, all forms of tertiary education for manpower development were conducted overseas, with government funding.

Primary education was now firmly established on all the inhabited islands of the Cook group. The 1968 Education Act stated that the education system in the Cook Islands should be free and secular and compulsory for all children in the Cook Islands from six to fifteen years of age. High schools (Form 3-4) were also established on the four islands of the Southern Group.

During this period, nineteen Cook Islanders gained degrees: eleven of these were mature students from the work-force. Ten Cook Islanders graduated from the Fiji School of Medicine. The number entering or completing university studies was significant when compared to the overall numbers given scholarship awards for overseas studies. The number of non-returning Cook Islands scholarship holders was a major concern for government and for those involved in the planning for manpower development. There were several factors causing this, but central to all must be the fact that Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens and carry New Zealand passports. The entry to New Zealand is relatively easy and any decision to remain is not hindered by immigration restrictions.

The coming of self-government to the Cook Islands therefore not only gave the Cook Islands people the right to govern, but also brought home the point that the country needed a wide range of skilled and experienced people for its development. Higher education now became a priority at government level.

Phase 3 (1975-1978)

This period was heralded by the adoption and implementation of the Cook Islands Education Policy Statement in 1975 which set out the direction of education in the Cook Islands from preschool, to primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The Policy Statement recognised an urgent need for a National Manpower Training Programme for the Cook Islands for manpower in all skills required to meet the developmental needs of the country.

The Division of Tertiary Education was established within the Ministry of Education and a Director appointed. The position of the Director of Education in the Cook Islands was localised in 1972. This division was charged with the responsibility of establishing a Centre for the University of the South Pacific as a matter of priority. Thus was planted the seed of the dream of a pathway towards higher education at home for the people of the Cook Islands.

The government scholarship scheme which contributed immensely to the education and training of the top and middle level management staff in government as well as in the private sector required evaluation in terms of its appropriateness to the needs of the Cook Islands, and especially in regard to the low returns of students to the country. The scheme continued with the selection of mature students to study overseas. The selection of students from the college was raised to Form Six to attend Form Seven either at the University of the South Pacific or at New Zealand schools.* The higher education institutions in which students were placed extended to those outside New Zealand and Fiji. Funding for these study awards came also from donor agencies and countries other than New Zealand, and some of these funds were specifically for second degrees. The emphasis however was still on first degrees in Education and Health.

During this four-year period, twenty Cook Islanders gained first degrees, and seven gained second degrees. Of the former group, nine were already employed in government prior to taking up university studies. These degrees were gained at universities in New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, India, Hawaii and mainland USA, United Kingdom, Holland, Australia and the University of the South Pacific. Of the 28 degrees, eight were in medicine and dentistry (with three at masters level), three in Law, one in Engineering, one in Horticultural Science and the rest in Arts, Sciences and Education.

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*In 1968 USP, to compensate for the lack of secondary classes in the region, offered Preliminary I (equivalent to New Zealand Form Five School Certificate level) and Preliminary II (equivalent to New Zealand From Six University Entrance level). Preliminary I has been phased out. Preliminary II is still offered externally but will soon be phased out. This development reflects the dramatic increase in upper secondary education in the region.

This phase marked the turning point in the development of tertiary and higher education in the Cook Islands. The Cook Islands Education Policy Statement of 1975 paved the way for the future in higher education both at home and abroad. Therefore, with this in place, the Cook Islands was in a position to move forward.

Phase 4 (1979-1989)

Two major policies for tertiary and higher education came into force during this phase.

A. The Policy of *Education at Home*
This is the policy of bringing higher education to the people at home instead of sending people overseas.

In the first three phases above, the mode of study to obtain higher education was the on-campus mode. In this mode the student, young or old, had to leave his home, family and friends and work to travel overseas to the institution of higher education. The study period would vary from three to five years and in some cases such as Law and Medicine, even seven to eight years. Many do not return on graduation. Many adjust to the new home and the new way of life and find *home* too restrictive. They grow away from home and into their adopted country where they can use their qualifications to get good jobs with better salaries than they would receive at home.

The loss to the home country is enormous not only in terms of money, but especially in terms of the skills and the services they can provide. When we consider that it takes between three to nine years for some of the studies to be completed, needs remain unfulfilled during that time and development lags behind. This forces the country to employ expatriate staff, usually from the adopted country of the scholarship holder, at great expense to the country, to fill a post on a temporary basis.

The monetary cost to the home country is high. In the case of the Cook Islands, to send a student to New Zealand would cost between NZ$8,000-NZ$10,000 per year (1986 costing). Students studying for a Bachelor of Arts degree for teaching require three to four years at university and one year at training college. The scholarship over the five years would cost the government NZ$50,000. Under the *Education at Home* policy, one scholarship award of NZ$10,000 a year could fund ten students at home as undergraduates.

Young students especially find great difficulty adjusting to a new environment. The failure rate has been quite high. Of real concern, also, is that those who fail are too ashamed to return home, and the country loses a potential young worker.

All of these problems are compounded by the fact that Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens and can therefore find employment relatively easily in New Zealand or elsewhere.

The policy *Education at Home* has several advantages. It allows more people to gain access to and participate in higher education. This opportunity had been restricted to those awarded government scholarships for overseas studies and to those who were funded privately.

Education at Home is less disruptive to family life, especially for married students with dependents. It also alleviates financial strain on families as well as the government which has been obligated to assist in the travel and accommodation of dependents. It is also less disruptive to the social and cultural fabric of life.

By studying at home, the student can continue to provide service to the country, to the family and to the community. In the case of the younger students, this would provide them with the opportunity to gain maturity in outlook and study habits, as well as develop a loyalty and commitment to the job. More especially, it gives an opportunity for the student to develop loyalty to the home country and his/her role in its development, rather than to an adoptive country. The costs would be less to government and the spread of the opportunity to the mass would be greater.

Education at Home has led to the growth of educational facilities and support services necessary for students, as well as to the improvement of the existing system.

B. The Policy of *Selective Pepper-Potting*

This policy is aimed at the placement of students into institutions of higher learning, world-wide, for academic acculturation. It is aimed at fostering diversity in thinking and perspectives. It is aimed at developing divergent-thinking scholars. The relatively easy and inexpensive alternative is sending most tertiary students to New Zealand, which has only a small number of very similar universities, with limited facilities by world standards.

The Cook Islands, as stated in the introductory section of this chapter, is one of the smallest island countries in the South Pacific region with limited land resources for economic development. Its land size is small, its climate is pleasant, its oceans are vast and its lagoons rich. But its greatest asset is its people. Therefore, to realise to the full this asset, the people need to be developed, to be exposed to different ways of thinking, economically, socially and politically.

The policies *Education at Home* and *Selective Pepper-Potting*, along with the government overseas scholarship scheme, now became the *Framework of Action* in the Cook Islands for the development of human resources at the tertiary and higher education levels.

The implementation of the *Framework of Action* proved to be a challenging task. Firstly, it necessitated the review and evaluation of all existing manpower training programmes at both tertiary and higher education institutions. It also required the review and evaluation of the institutions of higher education being utilised by the Cook Islands. The administration of the government overseas scholarship scheme also came under review.

Secondly, it necessitated a thorough examination of the government's social and economic developmental programmes at the national level. The knowledge and information gained from these reviews became the basis for the mapping out of a comprehensive and active Human Resource Developmental Programme for the Cook Islands.

During Phase 4, government embarked on an aggressive economic development policy geared towards generating revenue for the country so as to diminish its dependency on overseas aid. It therefore fostered a climate conducive to investment in tourism, commerce, small industry, agriculture, fishing, off-shore banking and such like. These in turn generated the need for trained manpower in Commerce, Accountancy, Law, Modern Technology (computing and communications). This action is reflected in the GDP of the country, which almost doubled from NZ $32.3 million in 1982 to NZ $63.9 million in 1986.

Education responded to this economic development policy in several ways. The most exciting development was the expansion of the *Education at Home* policy through the Cook Islands USP Extension Centre. The Centre had humble beginnings in 1976, but by the turn of the decade it had made its presence felt as an 'institution of higher education' for the people of the Cook Islands. The Extension Centre has the potential and capacity to expand and develop the delivery of higher education in the immediate future to the people of the Cook Islands.

As a member of the USP Council, the Cook Islands is hopeful that the university will take an active role in promoting higher education at home using all available modes, especially the distance mode. At this time, the Extension Centre does not offer full facilities to study for a degree at home. Students are required to be on campus for one or two years during their degree study.

In accordance with the *Education at Home* policy, the Cook Islands was the first country in the USP region to 'buy' the Form Seven Foundation Course from the University and to teach it at home. Tereora College facilities were made available, and the staff were timetabled to tutor. The door was opened to outer island students to attend these classes. Today there are over 30 students studying at this level at Tereora College.

The government overseas scholarship scheme pursued a policy of diversification of the institutions and countries to which students were sent for higher level education. The scheme continued to play a major role in the provision of higher education for the people of the Cook Islands, because the USP Centre was offering a limited range of courses. The Cook Islands continued tó look to other overseas institutions and used the policy of *Selected Pepper-Potting* to place students in institutions where required courses existed. In conjunction with this was the widening of the types of degrees to include Commerce/Economics, Agriculture, and the Sciences. This was facilitated by the availability of funding from a variety of sources other than the traditional donors. The figures reflect these developments. From 1982 to 1984, there were 39 Cook Islanders who gained first degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Education, Economics, Social Welfare, Agriculture, Commerce. These were gained from universities throughout New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii, and at the USP and the University of Papua New Guinea.

Under the government overseas scholarship scheme, awards were now designated for second degrees in view of the direction being pursued by government and the consequent needs of both the public and the private sectors. Between 1982 and 1986, ten Cook Islanders gained masters degrees from universities in Hawaii, California, New Zealand and the Netherlands.

At this juncture, it is appropriate to describe in brief a scheme for manpower training adopted by the Cook Islands which exemplifies the *Education at Home* policy. While it is not for higher education as defined in this chapter, it nevertheless illustrates a mode which can be utilised by small island countries as a vehicle for providing higher education for their people. This we call the *Mixed Mode*. In the context of the Cook Islands, it was adopted for training in the technical and trades fields, essential areas in development. An apprenticeship scheme was administered by the Department of Education in association with the New Zealand Trades Certification Board (NZTCB) for designated trades leading to the award of the New Zealand Trades Certificate.

There are four components to the scheme. First is the practical, on-the-job training requiring the apprentice to work with the employer or qualified tradesman to complete designated workshop hours. The second is the theory part which requires the apprentice to complete assignments sent by the New Zealand Technical Correspondence Institute (NZTCI). For some trades, tutorials are set. The third part requires the apprentice to attend a two to three week block course at a designated technical institute in New Zealand where students are exposed to modern machines and equipment of their trade. This is also an opportunity for the instructors to assess and test the apprentice's theory and practical knowledge. The fourth part is the examination which is set by the New Zealand Trades Certification Board, and the issue of the relevant Trade Certificate. The course is funded by the apprentice and his/her employer except for the attendance at the block course, which is totally funded by the New Zealand government.

This mode has met with great success for several reasons. First and foremost, the Certificate gained is of a high standard and recognised overseas. Secondly, the apprentice and his/her employer have made a commitment personally and financially and are therefore more likely to pursue the training to the end. Thirdly, the apprentice is studying at home and is therefore contributing to the work-force, and is being paid by the employer. At the same time, the apprentice is developing stable work habits and a sense of loyalty to the job, to the company and to the country. The employer is getting an immediate return for his/her money as well as the potential for improved workmanship once the apprentice qualifies.

The *Mixed Mode* demonstrates important factors that need to be considered by small island countries which seek to make higher education available to people at home. Credibility must be maintained. The quality and standard of the course or programme must be of a high standard, recognised and accepted across universities.

Cost, in relation to the support infrastructure, needs careful consideration. Existing resources and facilities must be utilised to offset costs. It is quite obvious that the small island countries would not be in a position to build and maintain massive structures for higher education let alone cater for the other areas of tertiary education. Existing educational establishments and government buildings can be considered for this purpose. In almost all island countries there are qualified and able people, both local and expatriate, who can assist in the tutoring and lecturing roles.

Commitment is an important factor on the part of the recipient and the provider. There should be some personal financial commitment to higher education by the student. While this may not always guarantee that the person will remain and work in the home country, it does work towards eliminating the attitude of 'taking': the expectation amongst some people that 'the government should provide everything for free'. This attitude began in colonial days and it is found in both the recipient and the provider. Too often, if the country's government cannot afford such a programme, then it is not set up. The recipient was not asked to provide anything in the way of payment for the course. In most cases, the recipient was not willing to pay anyway. The planners and administrators on the other hand have this notion that if we (the government, the employer, the donor agency) do not pay for these courses, then there will be no takers. No one would enrol if they were asked to pay.

The *Education at Home* policy should be a partnership arrangement: mutual support and mutual assistance between the provider and the recipient; one provides the services, the other consumes but pays something for it. In the *Mixed Mode*, co-ordination is also a vital factor.

An efficient, responsive and effective administration system must be in place to facilitate activities within and outside of the country.

Phase 4 saw a movement ahead in higher education. The *Framework of Action* set out clear directions and guidelines for continued development and expansion in the provision of higher education for the people of the Cook Islands. In addition, there was a realisation of the importance of the Cook Islands USP Extension Centre as a provider of tertiary and higher education courses. University education had at last come home to the Cook Islands.

The government overseas scholarship scheme continued to be the main avenue for the people to gain higher education overseas. Through the policy of *Selected Pepper-Potting*, Cook Islands students were attending institutions of higher education other than those in New Zealand and Fiji.

Without question, the focus and the emphasis of tertiary and higher education in the Cook Islands has been on human resource development for economic growth. The future forecast shows the continuation and strengthening of this trend. Also on the horizon of higher learning, is the dawning of religious education at the first and second degree levels.

Standing back and looking at the development of tertiary and higher education to the present for the people of the Cook Islands, one cannot help but feel, with a tinge of regret, that the Cook Islands higher education pathway appears to be lacking in what our distinguished colleague from the Pacific, Futa Helu calls 'Educational Morality and the Humanities' (see chapter 3).

Phase 5 (Towards the Year 2000)

The Cook Islands can enter the last decade of the twentieth century with confidence in its education system. It has established a sound primary and secondary education system capable of producing students with the potential and ability to cope with the rigorous demands of tertiary and higher education. Any major changes to the system could easily erode its stability and its effectiveness: the subsequent results and effects of which would take time to be felt.

As long as the Cook Islands continues to maintain a sound primary and secondary education base, the people of this country will be able to find ways and means of acquiring higher education. Maintaining that primary and secondary education base is crucial.

The biggest area of growth will be in the expansion of the *Education at Home* policy up to first degree level by capitalising on the distance education mode to bring degree studies home to the people. Another area of growth will be the building up of the *Selected Pepper-Potting* policy to the post-graduate and research level. In time, even these levels of higher education could be brought home.

We believe that all this can be achieved, even by a small island country like the Cook Islands with all the limitations and constraints that it now faces, through innovative management and administration. We say that as long as the Cook Islands have human resources, these resources can be harnessed to achieve national goals in higher education.

The key to it all we believe lies in the ability of governments, the ability of the providers of higher education and the receivers of that higher education to find the appropriate medium whereby higher education can be made truly the common property of the world communities. This can only come about through genuine co-operation and collaboration.

Nothing is impossible, but thinking makes it so.

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CHAPTER 7

A FRENCH UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC[*]

Jacques Borzeix

France exercises her sovereignty in the Pacific over several islands grouped in three overseas territories: New Caledonia and surrounding islands;

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[*] Resumé: Le gouvernement Français vient de créer une université dans le Pacifique Sud qui comprend à la fois un campus à Papeete en Polynésie Française et un autre à Nouméa en Nouvelle Calédonie. Cette université s'adresse aux citoyens des territoires Français du Pacifique Sud et leur fournit les moyens de suivre des études tertiaires ou de recherche dans leur propre environement ainsi que dans leur première ou seconde langue.

La politique de cette université nouvelle prend largement en considération l'ensemble des divergences ethniques, linguistiques, politiques et culturelles de la région. Son futur se trouve donc fondé sur un besoin d'ouverture au delà des territoires de langue Française dans le domaine des cours et du recrutement enseignant et étudiant; d'autre part son but est aussi de coopérer avec les divers organismes d'education et de recherche dans la region.

La dite-politique se trouve aussi tout à fait appuyée par une attitude extrêmement souple en ce qui concerne les divers moyens utilisés pour aboutir à ses objectifs. Les cours, répondront au besoin locaux, par exemple: l'etude de la langue Française, de la langue Anglaise, et d'une des langues indigènes; les études industrielles ou d'exploitation minière; et la recherche en aquaculture.

Les moyens de recrutement étudiant seront très souples, et resteront ouvert à toute qualification préalable, examinant aussi le cas de ceux pour qui l'expérience prédominerait sur les diplômes. Le recrutement du personnel serait, lui aussi, ouvert au maximum de domaines possibles.

Répondant tout particulièrement aux aspirations régionales tout en ne négligeant pas la nécessité d'une reconnaissance internationale, un très large Conseil Scientifique et Culturel a été établi pour venir en aide aux autorités universitaires quant à leur futur.

Ce document a été conçu de façon à donner une idée claire, non seulement à propos des fondements de la politique de l'université Française du Pacifique, mais aussi une vision détaillée de chaque cours programmé qui se trouve être le reflet de cette même politique.

Une lecture détaillée de ce clair exposé sur la politique d'ouverture fournit les plus grands espoirs quant au futur de cette institution; révélant ainsi les dispositions à prendre quant à sa mission.

French Polynesia; the territory of Wallis and Futuna Islands. Each of these territories functions under legislative statutes which are by definition subject to adaptation. The three territories, closely linked to metropolitan France, operate with varying degrees of autonomy.

Though such matters as foreign affairs and defence are outside the jurisdiction of the Territories, this is not entirely the case in the areas of education and training. In the Territory of French Polynesia, tertiary education is controlled from metropolitan France. It follows on from the primary and secondary education systems, which are under territorial administration. In the case of New Caledonia, the secondary system of education is under the direct control of metropolitan France.

Apart from her diplomatic, military and naval involvement in the Pacific, France has a parallel scientific and cultural presence in the region. This is represented by such well-established research organisations as ORSTOM, the Pasteur Institute, IFREMER, the French University of the Pacific (since 1987) and the Higher Education and Research Institute.

Will this French-speaking University, situated in the corner of the world furthest from metropolitan France and surrounded by an English-speaking environment, be in a position to contribute to higher education in the Pacific? Will the University be a replica of those to be found in metropolitan France? Will the University be at the service of the Territories for whose needs it has been created. Can the University develop through collaboration with other centres of higher education already established in the Pacific?

In attempting to reply to these questions, and above all, to further awareness of this recently established university, I will examine the following points:

- the standard organisation of French university courses of study
- perspectives for the development of campuses in French Polynesia and New Caledonia
- the importance of regionalisation
- the provision of opportunities for higher education and research in the Pacific in both the scientific and cultural spheres.

The Standard Organisation of French University Courses of Study

The *baccalaureat* is the standard certificate leading to entry into French universities. There are, however, also special examinations and accreditation of parallel qualifications. French university studies are organised in three cycles following the *baccalaureat*, which is regarded as being the first grade of higher education.

The first cycle, lasting two years, leads to the DEUG (Diploma of General University Studies). Higher education of a technological and/or professional nature is denoted by the DUT (University Diploma of Technology), and by the DEUST (University Diploma in Science and Technical Studies.

The second cycle of studies is also conducted over two years: a *licence* followed by a *maîtrise*. The MST (The *Maîtrise* of Science and Technology) is awarded by universities with a scientific and professional bias.

The third cycle is at the doctoral level: DEA (Diploma of Higher Studies at a Doctoral Level) and the DESS (Diploma of Higher Specialised Studies at a Doctoral Level).

In the same way that the first cycle of studies is the standard means of entrance into the second cycle, the qualification of *maîtrise* permits access to the third cycle of study. Similarly, there is a system which allows for the recognition of competence gained in the professional sphere and of studies completed outside French universities. It is by the system of recognition of equivalent studies that each establishment may, within the framework of its autonomy, pursue *a policy of accepting overseas students*. This policy is very much reinforced where links of co-operation exist between institutions.

To fit in with programmes of study offered in English-speaking countries, doctoral studies have, since 1988, been represented by a thesis which corresponds with the Ph.D. in standard and duration. It is on this basis that the French University of the Pacific must develop, if it does not wish to be cut off from the community of universities based in France and if it wishes to allow students to pursue studies at every level of higher education. The French University of the Pacific, however, may best serve the area by adopting a flexible attitude to the creation of programmes suited to regional interests and even by presenting courses leading to the award of diplomas which are specific to the University itself.

The University will be able to benefit from the resources of research and teaching staff recruited on specific regional criteria and drawn from the international community of higher education.

Perspectives for Development 1990-1993

University Centre for French Polynesia

The development plan of the University Centre for French Polynesia was established in consultation with senior university staff at the Centres of Papeete and Noumea, and in consultation with the Minister of Education of the Territory of French Polynesia. It takes into account a variety of statistics: the number of candidates for the *licence* and their distribution in different areas; the number of students holding state or territorial scholarships; and the number of students enrolled in correspondence courses such as those organised by the National Centre for Distance Education. It also considers, within a general framework of development, those technical courses conducted at a post-secondary level within high schools.

It is desirable that wide scope be given to the French University of the Pacific, transcending the limits of each Territory and involving the different areas of the South Pacific.

Three main divisions are proposed:

- Law, Economics and Administration
- Humanities, Social Sciences and Languages
- Sciences.

This description must not be interpreted as a replica of the stifling divisions imposed twenty years ago in metropolitan universities and which even today exert a repressive influence! The simple nature of the three divisions should not disguise our concern to encourage a multidisciplinary approach in every possible way. In particular, this will be the case in the area of Communications: Techniques of Expression; Languages; Processing of Information.

In addition, at every level of each discipline, the interest of the University in training and educating leaders in their field is to be emphasised.

Law, Economics and Administration

It is proposed to create, from 1990-91, an option in the DEUG (Diploma of General University Studies) to be known as Law of the Pacific, comprising 75 hours of coursework in the first year and 50 hours in the second year, to be taught by staff outside the area, who will be invited to fill vacant posts. This implies, on the one hand, a challenge to foreign students and, on the other hand, English lessons for everyone.

From 1990-91, in order to develop a transfer of competence, it is also proposed to organise a law degree, in collaboration with the University of Maine. This proposed course of study will also feature the option of Law of the Pacific.

For 1991-92, we are requesting the introduction of a *Maîtrise* of Law, to be studied by itself, or concurrently with a *Maîtrise* of Public Law. The *Maîtrise* of Private Law will include a component of Pacific Business Law. The *Maîtrise* of Public Law will be a course specifically oriented towards Law of the Pacific. Links with foreign universities should allow us to attract foreign students at this level.

Finally, from 1991-93 we are requesting the introduction of a DESS (Diploma of Higher Specialised Studies) in Law and Financial Affairs in the Pacific, in which foreign students may directly enrol.

It is also envisaged that, in collaboration with the National Centre for Distance Education in the Service of the Promotion of Territorial University Studies, students will be prepared for administrative examinations. The creation of an IPAG (Institute for the Preparation of General Administrators) will not, therefore, be necessary.

A DEUST (University Diploma in Science and Technical Studies) specialising in Computer Studies and Financial Administration has been requested by the Territory of French Polynesia, and may be organised from 1990-91.

Humanities, Social Sciences and Languages

The year 1990 must, first of all, be a natural progression from 1989 in respect of the programmes already put in place at the French University of the Pacific: 1990 will be the second year of the DEUG (Diploma of General

University Studies) in Modern Letters and Applied Foreign Languages. In conformity with the powers given to the University and with the decisions of the Administrative Council, in 1990 we take sole charge of the first part of the DEUG, and the DEUGs in English and History and Geography will, if possible, be run in partnerships with those presently responsible for these courses. Lastly, the French University of the Pacific looks forward to the creation of a DEUG in Reo Maohi (ethnic language of Polynesia).

In 1991-92, the second year of studies, apart from students who commenced in 1990, a *Licence* in Modern Letters for Students of French as a Foreign Language is planned which will lead on to studies for the CAPES (Certificate of Professional Aptitude in Secondary Education) in 1992-93.

In 1992-93, the third year of studies, a *Licence* in History and Geography and a *Licence* in English will be organised, always with the CAPES in mind.

For the fourth and final year of this plan, *Maîtrises* in French as a Foreign Language, Modern Literature, English and History are envisaged.

Teaching of French for Polynesian students, Polynesian employees, teachers who teach in Polynesian, and teachers and students of French from outside the Pacific area is proposed from 1989-90, whether it be from a basic level or at a more advanced level.

Physical and Technical Sciences

The *Licence* in Physics has been organised under the direction of the University of Nice in order to satisfy the request of the Territory in relation to training for the PEGC (Professeur d'enseignement général des Collèges - Lower Secondary General Teaching Certificate).

It is to be hoped that this *Licence* will be offered from 1990-91 in conjunction with the University of Nice, or simply through the French University of the Pacific, which will continue to liaise with Nice. This *Licence* will therefore attract students who will have completed their DEUG A in 1990, students who have to repeat this year and those students who already hold a DEUG A, who are in the Territory and who wish to continue with their studies.

In the framework of the training of candidates for the *Maîtrise* and of the commitments of the French University of the Pacific, we will be organising, from 1990-91, a preparatory course leading to the CAPES (Certificate of Professional Aptitude in Secondary Education) in Physics.

For the second year of the plan we hope to organise, either by ourselves or in collaboration with a French university, a *Maîtrise* in Applied Physics in 1991-92. This *Maîtrise*, taking into account the resources available at the University, could be applicable to the projects of Club EEA, involving Applied Physics, Electronics, Applied Computer Technology, Treatment of Signals, Applications to Measurement. If the standard and the number of students allow and if the Territory wishes, we could envisage a course leading to the entry examinations of the ENSI (Ecoles Nationales Superieres d' Ingenieurs - Higher National Schools for Engineers).

For the third and fourth years of the plan we will have to face the problem of the creation of a DEAS (Diploma of Higher Studies) or of a link with one or several of the metropolitan DEAS: this problem is mainly related to the development of research and teaching activities of the University and cannot be elaborated further here.

Natural and Life Sciences

The Diploma in Aquaculture was announced by the Minister for Education, Youth and Sports, M. Jospin, in November 1988. The University has students who are at present in the first year of this diploma. Therefore, we must put the second year in place in 1990-91, combining both territories in this programme.

If demand does not presently appear to be strong in Polynesia, it does exist in New Caledonia, and will exist in areas which have already seen the construction of aquatic farms by the IFREMER organisation. As qualified staff exist in Vairao, the second year of the diploma should be planned to be based in Polynesia. Polynesia will become the centre of training for all of the Pacific countries in this area.

Naturally, candidates for this diploma will be offered the possibility of proceeding to the following courses after completion of the DEUG (Diploma of General University Studies) B: a *Licence* in Natural Sciences planned for 1991-92; a *Maîtrise* in Natural Sciences for 1992-93.

These developments may also contribute to the training of experts, and to the preparation for competitive examinations.

University Centre for New Caledonia

The plan of development has been established after consultation with professional University staff in the legal, literary and scientific fields who are based in Noumea. It has been discussed in the New Caledonian Parliament, and has received a favourable reception there.

The proposed development plan will include the three following areas:

- Law, Economics and Administration
- Humanities, Social Sciences and Languages
- Physical and Life Sciences.

Law, Economics and Administration

A *Licence* in Law is planned from the 1990 academic year, with or without the collaboration of the French University of Aix. This *Licence* will feature two courses on the South Pacific and a component on Melanesian society. The *Maîtrise* in Law may be organised in 1991.

The expenses incurred in the payment of salaries and the development of courses will be assured through an agreement signed with the Territory of New Caledonia.

For 1991 or 1992 the introduction of a third cycle is envisaged, in the creation of a Diploma of Advanced Studies in the Comparative Law of the Pacific States. In other aspects, the University Centre will aid the ITAG (Institute for Training and General Administration), which was created in the decree of 27 July, 1989. Therefore, the creation of a separate IPAG is not proposed. In relation to administration, the creation of a Diploma in Economic and Social Administration does not seem to respond to the Territory's immediate needs.

Humanities, Social Sciences and Languages

In 1990, the studies begun in 1989 in Modern Letters and Applied Foreign Languages will be continued in the second year of the DEUG (Diploma of General University Studies).

A DEUG in English, which has until now been taught by correspondence through an agreement with the University of Aix, will be created. It will be under the direct responsibility of the French University of the Pacific. In the same way, the introduction of the Diploma of General University Studies in History and Geography must be programmed for 1990. These subjects, which form the basis of a progression towards higher studies, will continue to be taught with the assistance of our partners.

In 1991, the University foresees the introduction of four *Licences* (Modern Letters, Applied Foreign Languages, English, History-

Geography) leading to the preparation towards the CAPES (Certificate of Professional Aptitude in Secondary Education) in Modern Letters and in English. The introduction of a *Maîtrise* is envisaged for the same year.

From 1990 it is proposed to organise a training programme in French as a Foreign Language and in French as a Second Language. This option may be presented towards a *Licence* in 1991 and towards a *Maîtrise* in 1992.

Physical Sciences

The development programme foresees the introduction of a *Licence* in Physics in 1991, leading to training towards the *Maîtrise* and then preparation for the Physics CAPES (Certificate of Professional Aptitude in Secondary Education) in 1991. The organisation of a *Licence* in Mathematics is planned for 1992.

Life Sciences

A *Licence* in Natural Sciences, to be created in 1991, will lead towards the CAPES (Certificate of Professional Aptitude in Secondary Education) and a *Maîtrise* in 1992. A *Licence* in the Biology of Organisms and Populations will complete the series of degrees in 1994. Two Diplomas of Higher Studies are planned: in 1991, Marine Biology; in 1993, Agriculture.

DEUST: University Diplomas in Science and Technical Studies

The DEUST in Mines and Industry will enter its second year in 1990. It will be accompanied from 1990 by a university diploma entitled Mines and Mineral Exploration. This will be aimed at the training of executives employed in these professions. Some of the content of this diploma will be taught in common over two courses: (i) for those who hold the DEUG in Natural and Life Sciences; and (ii) for others who hold the DEUST, with specific traditional material where necessary. The two programmes will be revised according to the needs of those working in the professional arena.

A DEUST in Aquaculture will be offered in 1990. The first year will be organised in both Noumea and Papeete, but the second year will be based in Tahiti in 1991 where a more relevant scientific basis for this type of study is to be found. The University will take the necessary measures to allow those students, enrolled in Noumea in their first year, to continue their training in Papeete.

Finally, the creation of a DEUST in Tropical Agronomy, initially planned for Papeete, is now operating in Noumea. The eventual location of this diploma will, however, be decided in consultation with the territorial representatives of the French Minister of Agriculture.

The Importance of Regionalisation

Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to apply a regional emphasis in Mathematics, Mechanics and Physics, it is, nevertheless, quite possible to do so in Chemistry, and in the Life Sciences. It is also possible to regionalise Legal Studies and Economics. The creation of a regional focus in Letters and Human Sciences is also clearly necessary.

The French University of the Pacific is proposing several courses of instruction which are of an academic nature; nevertheless, they are capable of being made responsive to regional needs. Consider the following examples:

DEUG in Reo Maohi (ethnic language of Polynesia)

A General Educational Convocation, held from 27th-28th October, 1989 in conformity with the principles of the Charter of Polynesian Education, clearly pointed out that Polynesian children, who are at the centre of this particular debate, must be taught in a bilingual atmosphere of French and Reo Maohi by experienced educators.

The University Centre of French Polynesia will be presenting a DEUG in Reo Maohi in the light of its aim of contributing to the training of professionals. In addition, it will be responding to the requests of the Minister of Education of the Territory. This addition will complete the courses of study already offered in the realm of Letters, Human Sciences and Languages. The main areas to be studied will be:

- Introduction to Reo Maohi
- Reo Maohi
- Other Polynesian Languages
- History and Geography of Oceania
- Civilisations and Cultures of Oceania
- Political Institutions of the South Pacific.

DEUST in Tropical Aquaculture

The development of marine farms is very important in the Pacific area. This development is due to the transfer of high-level technologies mastered by IFREMER, in general, and to their introduction within Polynesia, in particular. The technologies which have been developed allow the farming of salt and freshwater prawns, mussels and certain fish (e.g., the sea-perch). By means of a French aquaculture society, IFREMER establishes farms and guarantees technical assistance for two years.

The concept will be to train technicians at the French University of the Pacific, who will be able to be employed in the organisation of marine farms in Ecuador, Columbia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Fiji and Western Samoa. These countries occupy an established position in the field of marine farming.

The framework of the convention between IFREMER and the French University of the Pacific will enable the University to benefit from the experience of the researchers of IFREMER and to make use of the organisation and functioning of the DEA (Diploma of Higher Studies at a Doctoral Level) in Knowledge and Management of Littoral and Oceanic Corals.

Students who hold the DEUST (University Diploma in Science and Technical Studies) may request advanced standing if they wish to pursue their studies in Life Sciences at the French University of the Pacific.

DEUST in Mines and Industry

Because of the importance of its nickel resources, New Caledonia will continue to hold a prominent place in world nickel production, as its reserves are still considerable. Professions connected with mining and metallurgy are therefore capable of offering a varied career to those involved.

In response to the need for scientifically trained and well-qualified technicians in mining and industry in New Caledonia, a DEUST (University Diploma in Science and Technical Studies) in Mining and Industry (at the entrance level of the *Baccalaureat* [Phase 2]) was instituted in 1989 at the University Centre in Noumea.

The DEUST in Mining and Industry is a qualification leading to the rapid absorption of students into professional life with a high level of training over a period of two years. Teaching content allows the acquisition of a wide spectrum of scientific and technical knowledge; the principle objective being to train highly qualified technicians who are capable of gaining employment in the areas of exploration, mining, industry and related professions such as civil engineering. The DEUST in Mining and Industry is open to students with a *Baccalaureat* or equivalent. Adults who lack this qualification but who are able to demonstrate at least two years' professional experience may also be admitted, after having passed an entrance examination.

Law of the Pacific

Since one of the aims of the French University of the Pacific is to exert an influence in the South Pacific, it has seemed to us possible to diversify the pattern of legal studies sufficiently to: (i) involve study of the Law of the Pacific and Territorial Law; and (ii) give foreign students the opportunity, from their very first year, of coming to pursue their studies at the French University of the Pacific.

The French University of the Pacific does not intended remaining aloof from developments towards international exchanges in the Pacific Zone, and must educate executives and lawyers, both French and non-French, to be specialists in both the business law of the main countries of the Pacific area and in international commerce.

We therefore propose, in addition to the standard pattern of studies which will allow our students to follow their studies in the universities of metropolitan France at every level, to include an innovative approach which will take into account Territorial and Pacific issues.

A number of measures will be taken to accommodate foreign students (e.g., waiving the *Baccalaureat* requirement, accepting diplomas from outside the French-speaking world, etc.), especially those from universities which are associated with us.

The Scientific and Cultural Council

The French University of the Pacific has created a powerful support for itself in the formation of its Scientific and Cultural Council, following the Council of the South Pacific on 17 May, 1990.

This Council is made up of the following, in addition to the teachers and researchers attached to the University:

- 5 elected members from the three territories
- 8 representatives of important national and territorial research organisations
- 2 representatives of international institutions
- 5 counsellors of the French Embassy
- 11 representatives of foreign universities and research organisations or individuals from the following nations:
  - 2 from Australia
  - 1 from Canada
  - 1 from Japan
  - 1 from New Zealand
  - 1 from Papua New Guinea
  - 1 from Samoa
  - 1 from Tonga
  - 2 from the USA, including 1 from Hawaii
  - 1 from Vanuatu.

This Scientific and Cultural Council will function in an advisory capacity. It can present advice on its own initiative or after consultation with the Administrative Council, in the following areas:

- recommendations directed towards adapting courses of instruction to specific regional needs. (Towards this aim, it informs the Administrative Council on the economic, social, cultural and scientific situation of whichever country is under discussion.);
- proposals for programmes of exchange of researchers and foreign students;
- suggestions for developing education and research within the framework of the aims defined by the Administrative Council;

- recommendations for the diffusion of scientific and technical information;
- advice concerning: the putting into place of courses of study; the creation of courses specific to the university; the means of access to these courses; accreditation; the annual Report of the President of the University.

The Cultural and Scientific Council will also prepare, for the attention of the Administrative Council, a report concerning the liaison between the French University of the Pacific and its exterior partners in relation to teaching and research.

In conclusion, the French University of the Pacific, the youngest university of the region, with its two centres, one in French Polynesia, and the other in New Caledonia, hopes it will fully achieve its assigned objectives:

- to allow the youth of the French Pacific Territories greater ease of access to a university level of education;
- to contribute to the continuing education of the adult population;
- to participate in the co-operative movement evolving between the countries of the South Pacific by means of the encouragement of the youth of these countries, thereby becoming a centre for international contact.

CHAPTER 8

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC: DIVERSITY AND THE HUMANITIES

Satendra Nandan

It is almost exactly twenty years since the first students graduated from the University of the South Pacific: an institution that has become the symbol of higher education and a new hope for the peoples of more than a dozen countries of the region. The South Pacific, with some of the smallest countries in the world in the largest ocean of the world, has its peculiar strengths and problems. The written word came into the seascape via the translation of the Bible. The coming of the Biblical mythology and its overwhelming impact on the life of the people has been profound and protean. Added to this theological exploration and adaptation has been the experience of colonialism in both its benign and brutal impositions.

But colonialism is part of our heritage. It cannot be denied for although British colonialism was brief compared to more ancient empires, its impact has been vast, and it permanently changed the contours of a varied world; through language and education, the configuration of the interior landscape of our mind and imagination was radically transformed. That is why the decolonisation of the mind is almost impossible for the mind is shaped by multiple layers of experience. Colonialism is a vital stratum embedded in it.

Colonialism implies migration in many aspects: of explorers, settlers, migrants, mythology, ideology, language, literature, ideas, awareness, institutions. And wherever there's migration, a multicultural world is in the making which means, at the turn of the 21st Century, the whole earth. Space shall be no exception.

'Migration', as Salman Rushdie (1987: vii-xiii), that creatively controversial British-Indian migrant writer puts it, 'also offers us one of the richest metaphors for our age. The very word metaphor, with its roots in Greek words for *bearing across* describes a sort of migration, the migration of ideas into images. Migrants - borne across humans - are metaphorical beings in their very essence; and migration, seen as a metaphor, is everywhere around us. We all cross frontiers, in that sense, we are all migrant peoples'. The crossing of frontiers of education is perhaps the most exciting. The South Pacific, like most of the world we know, has been peopled by migration. The world's most powerful and inventive nation is a migrant nation. In our own region our largest and perhaps the most generous neighbours have been created as nations by immigration. So migration is a non-negotiable and an integral reality of our landscape.

Islands though the South Pacific was, it acquired a monolithic view of the world that came to it through the religious construct most prominent in colonial times. Indeed, Christianity has been a colonising religion: the Europeans carried it with the zeal of the converts which they really were. Gavan Daws (1980: 20-21) puts it thus in his eminently readable book, *A Dream of Islands*:

> The nineteenth century turned into the century of imperialism, in which the white man stood above all others. Increasingly it was thought that the best that could be done with the savage was to control him. This was part of a great exercise in control in the nineteenth century, control over self as much as control over the world. Decade by decade, Europeans more and more took charge of themselves and took charge of the world. The civilization that recoiled in horror from cannibalism was itself swallowing up place after place, the islands of the South Seas along with the rest. Polynesia was being incorporated in the body politic of the world.
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> The white man deserved to rule: this was the truth that made the West strong in the nineteenth century, and it was a truth that the West set out to teach all the peoples of the world. That truth came to the South Seas by way of the Bible. The nineteenth century was the great missionary era in the Pacific, as elsewhere.
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> In its way missionary work was a form of imperialism, and in Polynesia the empire of God in the making was British. The founders of this new empire had been seized by the grand vision revealed to them by the eighteenth century explorers of the Pacific. The Englishman William Carey, a driving force in the setting up of overseas missions in his day, had read the published voyages of James Cook. Carey was a bootmaker, and over his workbench he kept a map of the world on which were shown the natural resources

> of the earth and the various religions of man, civilized and uncivilized. Carey's idea was that as the world was made to yield up all its treasures, so all its religions would become one, and that one would be evangelical Christianity.
>
> In this view there was no such thing as a noble savage; he had never existed. The South Sea Islander was in a state of sin, and the missionary would have to voyage to the South Seas to redeem him, to save him from himself.

This is my first point about education: that the monolithic view of the world propounded by colonialism in terms of race, religion and culture needs critical scrutiny in all its forms and facets. Edward Said (1985) has made a significant beginning in the context of the Orient. How education and educated men of the imperialist tradition - of philosophy, lexicography, history, biology, political and economic theory, novel writing, and lyric poetry - come to the service of Orientalism's broadly imperialistic view of the world. In the Pacific of our region there wasn't even the religious-cultural resistance that was part of the Oriental world. In the South Pacific, certainly the chiefs of these highly hierarchical societies, opened themselves to the colonisation of the soil and soul. And it is that decolonisation of the spiritual seascape that we find so difficult to attain in our lifetime in the islands of sun and sin.

The consequence of this monocultural view of the world has been inimical to other cultures within the South Pacific. With all their empty pride, the Pacific Island leaders have tended to bully the least defensible people. They have acknowledged the superiority of the Europeans and their tradition in many things and the psychology of the bullied is often reflected in their attitudes towards Asians, to whom they are adjacent. Fiji, of course, is a telling and tragic case in point.

It is important, therefore, that diversity of a multicultural world in higher education becomes a matter of priority. To be able to see the world as plural, diverse, secular and democratic is a major challenge to the intellectual maturity of the educators and opinion-makers. This is not an easily attainable task for it requires sea changes within one's conceptual and cognitive framework. Even in so large and immigrant a nation as Australia, the idea of multiculturalism as a serious national philosophy is barely a quarter of a century old. It is, however, deeply significant that such a policy has been endorsed by all governments in recent times. The recognition of diversity demands new adjustments, perspectives and insights and the resilience of structures to accommodate those changing and dynamic dialectics of coexistence. A multicultural vision of the world is a great gift. All intellectual pilgrimages ought to lead us towards that. The world is culturally multiple, and every individual is a crucible of many cultures. The plurality of life is our singular realisation in the modern world. The tradition of cultural, intellectual, religious and scientific 'impurity' is the essence of modernism. Anglocentric is egocentric; Eurocentric is eccentric.

Cultural, spiritual, intellectual and ethnic diversity is inherent in the fabric of contemporary society. It also offers a new challenge of openness to our humanity. Perhaps it has been always so, our passions of the past and the prejudices of the present have prevented us from that clarity of vision, that order of integrity. Higher education, which in essence means thinking for oneself, offers us new opportunities, wider and wiser perspectives. A multi-dimensional view of reality forces itself upon our sensibility. For want of a better term, multiculturalism is a most momentous movement in the modern world. It is not simply a matter of allowing another person's language, culture or whatever to coexist with one's own: indeed, it is a way of looking at life itself in its infinite variety and beauty; its complexity and subtlety and yet accepting it as one profound and ever evolving truth. Just as now we have come to accept the fact that we live on one earth and, that's all, all of us have - it is the first and final text of our being and becoming - so with increasing understanding we will come to realise that our world of education, too, is one. To see the world as a circle is important. We stand on our shores and in our limited apprehension, define the world from what we see: the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic. But the ocean, like the sky, is one indivisible whole. Diversity is only one way of understanding that unity in the fragments which is our lives. Ideas of tradition are particularly limiting. Even T.S. Eliot (1951: 13-21) in his seminal essay, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', was so circumscribed. His 'mind of Europe', since the essay was written, has shown us a great deal of mindlessness. 'Progress', as Claude Levi Strauss (in Quartermaine, 1986: 5) remarked, 'is not a comparable bettering of what we have, in which we might look for an indolent repose, but a succession of adventures, partings of the way, and constant shocks ... it is not enough to nurture local traditions and to save the past for a short period longer. It is diversity itself which must be saved ....'

Thus the challenges of diversity are many: none more challenging than the intellectual. Often, much of the strident noise for nationalism, cultural identity and tradition comes from those who have all the advantages of a diverse education. Their children have access to the best schools and they enjoy the monopoly of power and privilege in some of the societies of the Third World. It is time that those concerned with higher education questioned ideas of nationalism and cultural identity as propounded by these panjandrums. In our own region we seem to be beating the drums that are increasingly being discarded in societies that are emerging from similar patterns of historical experience, nations courageous enough to face up to the challenges of a contemporary world which is, in fact, becoming a global village, with all the elemental and enlightened features that a 'village' implies.

Diversity in higher education demands a serious scrutiny of cultural identity; struggle for social justice; right of people to the equality of treatment and opportunity as citizens of a country and the breaking, removal of barriers of culture, religion, race, ethnicity, language, gender, creed or birth. This, of course, means a great deal of economic equity and efficiency, to develop and utilise the talents of a people regardless of their background. And, finally, the building of democratic institutions. Democracy is not a foreign flower: it is the very petals and pattern of hibiscus. It is also our one defence against dictatorship of colonial or indigenous complexion. This, of course, means political education of the deepest kind. To separate politics from higher education is like separating sports from apartheid. It has always been there. Fiji, for example, now exemplifies the principles of politics and policies in education that are so destructive to human life, dignity and rights. As educators our task may be to learn and make the connections between what's happening in Fiji and see it imaged in Bougainville, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and beyond. Tonga and Samoa will not be the exceptions - critical waves are already lapping those shores. Of course, only a people who believe in democratic ideals pay a price. There are many island-countries where democracy hasn't even begun: those who wish to remain virgins do not know the wonder of conception, nor the ache and freedom of birth.

It is at this level of education that the humanities can play a major role. By humanities I mean the business of being human and isn't that the final aim of all education? The humanities then will form the radiant text in the diverse and disturbing context of higher education in the Pacific. They tell us, they awaken us to what it might be like to be someone else, to discuss our otherness, thus discovering ourselves and enriching our life experience. Then alone can we tackle the intractable problems morally, intelligently and hopefully. Then alone will we be able to see our interdependence and attempt the need to interrelate the humanities, social sciences, science, technology and politics. Even in the most difficult of times, no law of history proves that minds must close when belts are tightened or guns fired. Education is about the opening of petals in the mind, opening of doors to the universe. It is in this context that I wish to talk about one aspect of the humanities: the creative imagination of the artist educators.

II

I do believe that artists often generate thinking that changes our perception of the world. Dostoevsky's and Picasso's works make the point rather well; in our own region, Patrick White's writings. The image of the artist as a mirror (reflecting our world) and a lamp (illuminating the darker regions of our interior landscape) is well-known. But there is a third dimension to this concept. And that is: the artist as a warning system or the surgeon who plies the steel and foreshadows the nature of the malaise. It is not always acknowledged that many of today's most powerful ideas have been spawned by the artist-philosophers. In our own colonial world, think of novelists: Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Joseph Conrad, and E.M. Forster, Wole Soyinka, V.S. Naipaul and Salman Rushdie. In subtle ways they laid bare before us, layer by layer, the colonial experience and our shared condition in all its horror and occasional glory. They changed us more profoundly than politicians and affected not the quality of our life but the quality of our humanity. They educated us into a new consciousness.

We live in a 'multi' world: multiracial, multilingual, multireligious and now becoming increasingly multinational. Every university is increasingly multicultural. Unfortunately, all these words hide a multitude of sins. In our small world increasingly divided by narrow nationalistic, racialistic walls, how can the artists provide a few pillars to sustain this very complex structure under which we survive and which trembles at the slightest wave of change that touches our shores?

It may help to look briefly at the kind of historical experience that has shaped our thinking, our values, and our valuation of ourselves and others. The fatal impact of colonialism dislocated our lives quite volcanically and it continues to desolate our spirit. We seem to be groping in a tunnel littered with the broken images and cheated hopes of our past. And now indigenous colonialism is no better than the expatriate variety.

One can despair at this state of affairs: become alienated or better still be an exile in Auckland or Canberra. On the other hand, in this disjointed history and emerging societies we can see a starting point for an enquiry into the question: Who are we? After all, the so-called established societies were once colonised and their own civilisation has been fed from many sources: Christ was not born in London, nor was Marx a Moscovite. And Colonialism is an ancient phenomenon: it's been happening for a long, long time.

The artist, therefore, has to look for new possibilities and suggest ways of healing the wounds of history. In the very wounds, he may find the healing blood. Isn't that the image of Christ, too, or the Buddha: perhaps two of our greatest artists-thinkers. And how often in one's own personal experience a line of poetry, a song, a dance, a work of art gives one that sense of wholeness and understanding and a feeling of permanence and life's creative continuities. The artist then begins to understand, with compassion, the dislocation of a people, the displacement of values, and the encroachment of new ones as part of the disjointed scene. He vivisects our vanities and reveals the thorn at the heart of the rose that gives it colour. And with sensitivity and imagination he lays bare issues that cause us both anguish and give us some sense of gaiety in being alive, in being human. The politician won't do that, for if he did, he won't get the votes; the preacher won't do it, for if he did, the church is likely to be empty on Sundays.

The second aspect of the artist's role is to give back the self-esteem that was trampled on during the juvenile delinquency of colonialism. It is easy for a people to get their political and economic independence if that's possible at all but what takes a long time to recover from is the psychic abortion caused by the arrogance of ignorance of the past. Let me give one example: in Fiji we have, broadly speaking, three traditions: the Pacific, the European, and the Indian. The European tradition, through its association with power and monopoly, reinforced by a monolithic and proselytising religion, did enormous damage to the multiplicity of vision of life that the ancient faiths believed in. 'I am the only way' syndrome chopped away the idols which were really works of art, humility, openness and accommodation. This sublime egotistical view of life came into existence barely two thousand years ago. The world surely has been in existence for many more milleniums?

There are other faiths which survived the ravages of history, and man's inhumanity to man, and have long been ignored. I am, of course, talking not of religious experience - that is every man's mystery with his God - what I am stressing is the attitude of mind created by this evangelical fervour of faiths born in the deserts of Arabia. As a result we began to feed our imagination on borrowed fairy tales and lost faith in our own truths. And I think as educationalists this is our fundamental challenge: how to bring back into our education the variety and subtlety of life as perceived by other earlier civilisations. It is not enough to continue to parrot Plato if we have no knowledge of Panini. We continue to quote from Homer's *Odyssey*, but Vayasa's *Mahabharta* is not even mentioned. The list could be endless. I'm merely mentioning what I know of. I think the South Pacific, by its geographical position and its historical evolution, is in a challenging position where the indigenous, the European and the Eastern can form a creative confluence of cultures. To me this is far more satisfying than the constant harping on one's own culture. Nothing destroys a culture more than sheer flattery. Even that culture, which we call our own has been enriched by many streams. What can we as educators do to bring into the mainstream of our general education this remarkably varied heritage?

Take Fiji, for instance. We had enormous possibilities, but rarely did we explore this for the benefit of our nation. We have been so dominated by Anglocentric thinking that has come to us via New Zealand that education has been thought of as largely an European phenomenon. This at times has been dehumanising and alienating and the Eurocentric tradition is seen to be all-encompassing, mature, subtle and sophisticated, while the others are primitive. Over a century and a half ago Lord Macaulay said that the wisdom of India and Arabia could be put on a single shelf of an English school-boy. And this about a civilisation that has at least five thousand years of *written* literature. However, not very long after, the great Oxford Professor Max Muller (in Chaudhuri, 1974) wrote:

> If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant - I should point to India.

Or take another example. Only the other day I was reading a book published by a group of American scholars on *The Literatures of India*. This is what they had to say about the Hindu epic, the *Mahabharta*, written almost 1,000 years before the Christian era. This book, which became the founding library of a whole civilisation, includes history, legends, education, edification, religion and art, drama and morality. What interested *me* most was this paragraph (Dimock, *et al.*, 1974: 53) and I quote:

> If an analogy were to be made to Western culture, one would have to imagine something like the following: an *Iliad* rather less tightly structured than it now is, incorporating an abbreviated version of *The Odyssey*, quite a bit of Hesiod, some adapted sequences from Herodotus, assimilated and distorted pre-Socratic fragments, Socrates by way of Plato by way of Plotinus, a fair proportion of the Gospels by way of moralizing stories, with a whole complex of 200,000 lines worked over, edited, polished, and versified in hexameters by successive waves of anonymous church fathers. In the western tradition this seems incredible. In the Indian civilization the *Mahabharta* is a fact.

Peter Brook (1988) has now, of course, given the epic a universal audience and appeal. Like a great master-educator he has given us new eyes to read old books about our times and lives.

But it is not simply this fact, or the lack of it, in our education that I am concerned about; it is a more disturbing confession I wish to make. My parents knew no English but were well-versed in the *Mahabharta* and the *Ramayana*. Because of my education, whenever someone asked me if they were literate my answer was always 'no', simply because they did not know that an 'a' was for an 'apple' and a 'z' was for a zoo. This is how we were fed and trained in our little zoos. This is the great blasphemy of our generation's education controlled by people who admittedly had their own limitations. I wonder how critically our children's children will examine our attitude towards their education.

I think in the South Pacific we can correct this balance to our enduring advantage. The artists in their art can bring new allusions and perceptions, and to understand these our children will have to venture forth in the new worlds, which are often older than the present. Besides, I mention this from a personal experience in Australia. Someone I know well was teaching Asian studies in a secondary school in Canberra. The topic was Indian independence and naturally Gandhi's name figured prominently. The teacher waxed eloquent on this more than remarkable man and next day she managed to get a portrait of the man. Imagine the disappointment of the 16-year old girls: here was a frail, fragile looking man wearing a loincloth and sandals, leaning on a lathi and looking like ET's grandfather! Children who had been brought up on the concept that God is created in the image of Charlton Heston could never see this old man as a man of God. All rebels and revolutionaries, their media had taught them, were bearded, in Levi jeans with an American or Russian gun, a Havana cigar, sometimes even wearing a handle bar moustache.

I think in our part of the Pacific no one has looked at some of these issues with sharper eyes and more sensitive imagination than the Australian writer Patrick White. His novel *Voss*, among its many profound preoccupations, is very much a journey into the psychology of colonialism. The result, of course, is Voss's final realisation of humility and acceptance: he dies in the end, but only after causing infinite suffering to others; only his Aboriginal companion fully lives, just as they have survived for the last 40,000 years. And the person to whom this self-knowledge comes through his art-poetry - and who reads his fate carved in the rock drawings of the ancient Aborigines - is the artist who accompanies this magnificent, megalomaniac explorer. The journey into the heart of Australia becomes a metaphor for our own personal odyssey, especially in our dealings with other people and other cultures. It is fair to comment that anyone who has read *Voss* and *Riders in the Chariot* by White would have a completely different understanding of the Aboriginal world, which means of Australia. It is *that* level of response that an artist brings to our complex existence. We all react to the same problems but it is the *level* of response that makes a politician so transitory and an artist often so enduring and capable of changing the sensibility of a whole generation and the direction of a civilisation.

The artist-educator in all societies is both a transmitter of values and one who questions the existing ones. Now, in Fiji, the march of material culture, racial thinking, military manoeuvres is outstripping all our other values. These dominate our consciousness as children's nightmares. Racialism makes further thought unnecessary; materialism gives us a false sense of importance and security; militarism leads to megalomania not unlike that of the late master sergeant General Doe. And there are mimicking 'generals' all around us; once we wear these blinkers, we're not likely to be touched by the moral problems of our thoughts and actions. Is it possible for the artist to voice a new vision that both challenges this colonial-indigenous monkey-game and creates something in the place of this crumbling structure shored up by these pitiable pillars on which our mimic men now depend? The artist may not provide us with the answers but he can at least ask the right questions and show us through his art the consequences of such unthinking policies and pursuits. He may yet make us a people possessed of some understanding of our common destiny. Racialism is too big an issue to be discussed here but materialism is worth talking about. Living in a culturally arid and materialistic society as our own we're becoming obsessed with possessions. This is one reason why parents always want their children to take up money-making professions. Very few think of a career in the humanities. Indeed, even religion is becoming an expression of our material preoccupation. I think people pray more nowadays not because they have become more spiritual, but because they fear if they do not pray, someone will break into their houses and steal their stereo or video sets. Until, as in Fiji, the ten headed Ravana came in and abducted democracy in her teens.

Patrick White (1989: 13-17) wrote this about Australia:

> In all directions stretched the Great Australian emptiness, in which the mind is the least of possessions, in which the rich man is the important man, in which the schoolmaster and the journalist rule what intellectual roost there is, in which beautiful young boys and girls stare at life through blind blue eyes, in which human teeth fall like autumn leaves, the buttocks of cars grow hourly glassier, food means cake and steak, muscles prevail, and the march of material ugliness does not raise a quiver from the average nerves.

Despite all our talk about culture and harmony, I think this could well be an epigraph, if not an epitaph, of our vanishing world in the South Pacific.

Art will not necessarily arrest this decline but it will certainly make us more sharply aware of our loss. It has taken Australia almost two hundred years to create a writer of that honesty and if we don't begin these things in our education system now, it is unlikely that we will produce men and women of much vision or courage to re-examine their convictions. It takes generations even to create ruins, how much longer it takes to create works of art. Despite all our talk of cultural diversity, we lack a coherent policy on that kind of education. Whatever we have preserved of our arts or achieved has been mainly through the efforts of individuals and small groups. This is perhaps how it should be but the least the institutions of higher education can do is to give some encouragement to the arts and recognise their meaning in the life of the individual, their potential in nation-building as well as their value in creating an image of one's country abroad. We may derive some inspiration from the fact that during Shakespeare's time, there must have been ministers, and colonels, financiers and shopkeepers but today we remember only Will Shakespeare. And we value England today because we have known it through its artists, poets, and politics. As White wrote, there is a possibility that one may be helping to people a barely inhabited country with a race possessed of understanding.

There is another aspect of our life to which an artist in our society must give definition and direction. That is to give an uprooted and transplanted people a sense of place and belongingness. It is, I think, a question of the faith of the artist in his people and place. Colonial people are brutalised in many ways. One of the lasting damages done to them is this lack of an established past or a continuous culture. At Fiji's independence in 1970 some of us were beginning to feel the first sensations of rootlessness. After all, we were defined only as 'Indians' in the Constitution, the supreme law of the land. This is the price we paid for the awesome awareness that came with the coups. The more educated we will get, the deeper will become our recognition of this deracinating reality. And a sense of alienation is setting in at many levels. It is, therefore, necessary for the artist to give the people the strength of mind and the resilience of spirit. He becomes involved in an act of self-becoming, to instil a feeling of self-confidence individually and collectively on which the foundation of self-reliance can be truly laid. Many people in our society are becoming weary of life even before the journey has begun. This can lead to a cynical self-interest that can be nationally suicidal.

The artist as an outsider or one living in the ivory tower so prevalent in the European tradition, does not seem so meaningful to our situation. This does not mean that he should not be detached; distancing and detachment are vital. The detachment of one from the many *is* the necessary pre-condition of all original thought. The danger in our society for the artist is that he may be tempted to mimic the attitudes of artists from the European tradition. There the talented individual has a tradition; in our situation the individual is involved in creating that tradition and more. In the Pacific, if the artists fail to move us towards a synthesis, integration and new orientations, then while some communities will continue to suffer from this lack of the country of the mind and consequently see their achievements mainly in material terms, others will move deeper into the well of the past. And the past can kill. It can trap us into thoughts which have no real bearing on our contemporary lives and we will tend to romanticise the past because we're unable to confront the harsh realities of today. This fascination with an imagined past is not confined to the South Pacific. It is becoming a worldwide phenomenon where the countries grappling with the bits from their colonial wreck have not been able to grasp the present and are falling back into the myth that the old was gold. As V.S. Naipaul (1977) said:

> The "Third World" notion is itself a cliche. I feel there is a great universal civilisation at the moment which people would say is Western. But this has been fed by innumerable sources. It's a very eclectic civilisation and it is conquering the world because it is so attractive so liberating to people. What disheartens me is that there are certain cultures where people are saying "Cut yourselves off. Go back to what you were". There is nothing to replace the universal civilisations they are rejecting. The Arabs, the Muslims, some Africans [some Pacific Islanders] are doing this. I think it's a disaster. The great Arab civilisation of the seventh to twelfth centuries was the world's most eclectic civilisation. It wasn't closed to outside influences. It was endlessly incorporating the art of Persia, the mathematics of India, what remained of the philosophy of Greece. The mistake of Western vanity is to think that the universal civilisation that exists now is a purer racial one. It's not the preserve of one race, one country, but has been fed by many.

At another level, the artist becomes the articulator of the needs and interest of the vast majority of his society. He can do this through many modes; song, drama, dance, painting, poetry, and prose. By portraying his people in a truthful way, he is able to make them pulsating images in the minds of those who make decisions about these people's future - the spokesmen behind their desks who mould and manipulate the lives of ordinary men and women. The artist, therefore, should act both as a catalyst to effect changes in the thoughtscape of a nation and become a conscience of the educated and the decision-makers. In Camus' words, the artist's role is not free of difficult duties. By definition, he cannot put himself today in the service of those who make history; he is at the service of those who suffer it. History is not an interview with the temporary victors only, like the colonel and his conspirators. It is about imagining the past and remembering the future. In short, imagining the real. Pontius Pilate asked: what is truth? but, alas, would not stay for the answer.

In doing that the artist-educator creates the moral ambience in which people can say things with the courage of their conscience. One of the tragedies of our society today is the tragedy of silence. There are people in our society who pride themselves on never publicly having told a lie. But let them ask themselves how often they, from positions of power, have failed to tell the truth, preferring a convenient silence. Then who is left to shout: the Emperor has no clothes! J. Bronowski (1981) of *The Ascent of Man* fame wrote that poetry in itself may not move us to be just or unjust but it moves us to thoughts in whose light justice and injustice are seen in fearful sharpness of outline. The art of any country, therefore, is the expression of its social and political realities. It reflects both the energy of its people and the level of its ethical life in relation to other lives. *That* is the quality of our humanity towards others. It is a pity that 'the best amongst us often lack all convictions and the worst are full of passionate intensity', as Yeats said. At least the artist may make us see the simple truth that what matters most is the respect you have for the self-respect within you. We continue to measure ourselves by colonial standards, the essence of which is that only *one kind* of society is possible, and are awed by positions people occupy rather than honour them for what they are. Educated people in a post-colonial society can do a lot of harm. The faithless drifting of an intellectual loosened from the controls of his people and alienated from the warmth and wisdom of the ordinary folks could lead him to commit most monstrous acts to satisfy his vanity. Dostoevsky said this much before the Russian Revolution, and then sitting behind his desk the academic-intellectual would rationalise all his actions to his satisfaction alone and feel he is answerable to no one. The tragedy is that there is no one to even satirise such a character so that he can see himself. Where there's no satire, despair will soon set in.

Finally, the artist may bring to us one realisation, particularly in the South Pacific, that though living on islands we are not islands. Alone we are not yet alone, uniting as we do the themes of so many other lives. We cannot continue to lie in the exclusive cocoons of our experiences - racial or national. We not only touch but intersect other lives. Indeed the interest the artist's self has for others lies in the very extent that self has embraced the lives of others. We are all stiffening in rented mansions or mortgaged houses: the house is no more a fortress and human relationships are more like the oceans - ever changing, restless and yet beautiful, with palpable love, but demanding the daring of the early explorers. Only such people will discover new horizons and see the oceans that connect us all. I believe there's an Indian Pacific that runs through the heart of Australia. Once we begin to recognise the growing relationships with others then we begin to recognise ourselves, and often a work of art leads us into that kind of illumination. This imaginative exploration of our lives is often more true than the so-called facts of life. At this level then art *makes* life, and living is an endless educative process.

I have deliberately taken an aspect of the humanities to make my point: how personal, creative and complex all education really is. In his 'Foreword' to Allan Bloom's (1987: 11-18) *The Closing of the American Mind*, Saul Bellow writes:

> The heart of Professor Bloom's argument is that the university, in a society ruled by public opinion, was to have been an island of intellectual freedom where all views were investigated without restriction. Liberal democracy in its generosity made this possible
> ....

In our own region, the pressures are now becoming more insidious and there is hardly any tradition of liberal democracy; but it is possible to creatively subvert feudal and authoritarian structures through *liberal education* on a much wider plane than Bloom's. His book, too, shows not so much the closing of *the American* mind but the closing of *an American* mind! Again the limitations of one's education and tradition, but his stirring call to educators at the end of the book is worth heeding (Bloom, 1987):

> One should never forget that Socrates was not a professor, that he was put to death, and that the love of wisdom survived, partly because of his *individual* example. This is what really counts, and we must remember it in order to know how to defend the university.

That is the central challenge to the individuals and institutions within our region, too.

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CHAPTER 9

UNDERSTANDING HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES*

V. Lynn Meek

In chapter 1, Jones described various means and consequences of transfer of national models of higher education. The following essays display the rich tapestry resulting from the multiplicity of ways in which higher education has been interwoven with the cultures and social structures of the Pacific Island nations. This chapter will look more specifically at how issues associated with the transfer and adaptation of higher education can be addressed analytically, paying particular attention to the contemporary role of higher education in its socio-political context. The intentions of the following 'theoretical review' are: (a) to critically asses various theoretical approaches to the study of higher education; (b) suggest appropriate theoretical perspectives; and (c) suggest specific areas for research. One question to keep in mind is the degree to which all higher education systems face similar problems and dilemmas: are the issues confronting higher education systems in so-called 'developing nations' fundamentally different from those in Western industrialised countries? The answer to this question not only affects approaches to comparative research, but also influences practical issues concerning co-operation of higher education systems across national cultural and political boundaries.

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* This chapter draws heavily on Meek 1987; 1991.

Theoretical Approaches

Overly Deterministic Views of the Role of Higher Education

One task of students of higher education is to understand the social and historical requisites of change. But even merely mapping the history of events that require explanation is dangerous in itself for a mere chronology of events can suggest a necessary and overly deterministic process of historical transformation. A reconstruction of the past may suggest an inevitability of events which obscures the fact that at each major juncture there were alternatives available. *Post factum* interpretation of events past may suggest that the coalescence of particular 'forces' made one outcome more likely than another, but it must be remembered that that is exactly what needs to be explained theoretically and conceptually: why did a particular outcome prevail in the face of a multiplicity of alternatives.

It is fairly clear that in most nations - particularly developing nations - the university is an introduced 'exotic species' of institution. The degree to which the university has put down roots, flourished and adapted to foreign soils is, first of all, an empirical question. The outcome of the transplantation of higher educational systems varies from case to case depending on a variety of national, international and historical circumstances.

Unfortunately, theory is often substituted for an examination of the historical facts in interpreting the consequences of the transfer of higher education - particularly with regard to its transfer from the metropolitan nations to the less developed ones. From the literature, one can identify two basic schools of thought. First, there are the 'diffusionist' or 'development' theorists. These theorists not only regard the university as a Western cultural institution that permeated societies lacking in Western traditions of higher education during the 19th and 20th Centuries, but they also view the university in the third world as a force for modernisation and development. The argument in a nutshell is that because the university is a Western institution - an institution having ideas and values of 'universal reference' - it will bring about 'modern' attitudes and habits in the indigenous population fortunate enough to participate in its form of education. Once begun, modernisation is a continuous process leading to successive stages of development, paralleling those that occurred in the industrialised west.

Certainly, there are cases where the university has helped transform the traditional societies of colonial dependencies. It has helped, for example, to provide the high level manpower necessary for many of these societies to achieve nationhood. But in some societies it has also helped to create inequitable social structures that tend to mirror those of the metropolis. It has been argued, for example, that the lack of adaptability of the Oxbridge model to Nigerian society has been accompanied by a considerable adaptation of the country to the kind of elitist social system that the transfer of the British university model helped create (van den Berghe, 1973). 'Modernisation' and 'development' are often assumed to be inherent 'goods', and the value-laden nature of the words is not recognised. But the basic criticism of modernisation theory is that it is based on a Western ethnocentric assumption of a universal response to similar organisational forms which trivialises and obscures the difference in meaning which people from different cultures may attach to similar structures and forms of social organisation.

Other scholars, while recognising the Western character of the university, maintain that the university is not a mechanism for nation building and modernisation. Employing what is generally referred to as 'dependency' theory, these scholars regard the university as a multinational cultural corporation that helps to maintain third world countries in a state of neo-colonial dependency on the metropolis. It has been argued that nearly 'all African universities started as overseas extensions of European metropolitan institutions, and decisions about priorities for educational development followed the dictates of parent cultural corporations in Britain, France or Belgium' (Mazrui, 1975). Rather than adapting to local conditions, the university has continued to serve interests other than indigenous ones.

Most universities which were established outside India and the white dominions were cultural outposts under the direct control of governing bodies residing in the mother country. Organisationally, at least, there is little doubt that the colonial university was a multinational corporation. There are also various factors that help maintain the dependence of the 'third world' university on those in the metropolitan nations, such as: having a proportion of academic staff who are expatriate, relying on a metropolitan language and publications for instruction, and dealing with a core of knowledge which is largely not produced locally.

In comparison to the diffusionist/modernisation school, dependency theory takes a somewhat more sophisticated approach to the transfer of higher education by not automatically assuming that universities in newly independent states sponsor development and modernisation. But, like the diffusionist/modernisation school, dependency theorists assume universal responses to similar organisational forms despite the culture and form of social organisation of specific places. This approach robs indigenous actors of the ability to make conscious choices about their future, and it obscures the dynamics of the interaction between specific university models and their host society. Both schools of thought take a linear view of history, assuming that the introduction of the Western university either sponsors successive stages of development or ever-deepening circles of dependency. But the institutions themselves are not merely buffeted about by forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, or development. They have specific socio-political consequences - some quite unintended by the colonial masters who created them.

The division of schools of thought on higher education into modernisation versus dependency theories is, of course, merely an analytical devise which does no justice to serious scholars. Nonetheless, such ideas continue to influence both scholars and policy-makers, with neither one nor the other of the contrasting notions gaining a permanent ascendancy. At this point in history, it appears that the 'modernisation school' and the associated concepts of education as human capital and economic investment have the upper hand in developing and developed nations alike. Why this may be the case is assessed later in the chapter. But the deconstruction of either political or academic views of higher education requires the appropriate analytical tools; tools which allow for better understanding both of specific historical situations and the interests and motivations of conscious actors.

The Categorisation of Higher Education as a Field of Study

It is often assumed that there is an *essence* to higher education; that there is an intrinsic character to *the* University which makes it recognisable as such despite the great variety of forms and cultures in which it appears. Is this a useful way of categorising the university, and if so, why and what are the consequences?

To attribute a certain essence to the university is not useful insofar as the so-called intrinsic character of higher education is used by certain opponents of change to occupy the moral high-ground, such as when vice-chancellors publicly denounce any government policy which attempts to introduce reform or greater accountability as an attack on the international gold standard of the academy. On the other hand, it can be empirically demonstrated that over time and space there is enough similarity in the structure, academic division of labour and value system of higher education institutions to regard them as a certain class of social organisation. Moreover, where the research focus, broadly put, is on the interrelationship between higher education and society, higher education by definition is provided with a degree of separateness from other social institutions.

For analytical purposes, it is probably necessary to assume that higher education constitutes a specific *field* of social activity with its own particular norms, values, patterns of interaction, culture and authority structures. But even here there is disagreement.

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983: 148) an organisational field consists of 'those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products'. Or, as Dahrendorf (in Clark, 1983: 2) puts it: 'certain areas of human activity have evolved their own action patterns; the world of science, or of painting. There is, in other words, such a thing as sectoral hegemony'. The view of higher education as a *field* is in opposition to the alternative construct that higher education is (or is becoming) a sub-system of the socio-political superstructure, dependent entirely on the state for its norms and authority. While such a construct may have validity in some cases, 'it has no logical inevitability and it preempts the issue of how far higher education institutions are licensed to be free to set their own norms, or even to be in conflict or tension with the society that sponsors them to be its antibodies' (Kogan, 1984: 67).

As Kogan indicates, what is important is the degree of freedom licensed by society, a question which is as relevant for higher education institutions in the South Pacific as for those located in the United Kingdom or any other Western nation. At first glance, it may seem that 'freedom to set their own norms' takes on a different dimension for higher education institutions located outside the industrialised west, particularly in those circumstances where many of the norms themselves are foreign to the indigenous culture. However, there may be as much 'foreigness' between Margaret Thatcher's normative prescriptions on what constitutes the good society and those of British academics as exists between political leaders of developing nations and members of their higher education institutions. Thatcher, as eventually happens to all political leaders, has gone. But the urgency of the question of the degree to which a society is willing to allow higher education institutions to be 'social antibodies' remains.

DiMaggio and Powell (p. 148) argue that 'once disparate organizations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field ... powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another'. While this may be true of higher education in some instances, it should not be assumed that just because higher education is a recognisable field of social activity that it is a cohesive, conflict-free, homogeneous enterprise. An image of higher education both within and between institutions as a loose federation of medieval Italian fiefdoms, sometimes at war and sometimes at peace, is more appropriate than that of collective homogeneity. Clark (1983: 26) puts it more elegantly: 'Higher education is a conglomeration, in the dual sense that its missions are multifarious and its organizations composed of numerous disparate elements'.

Paradoxically, the disintegrated structure of higher education, particularly at its base, is maintained by the professionalism that seems to be one primary factor which drives other organisational fields towards homogeneity, or what DiMaggio and Powell (1983: 149) call structural *isomorphism*; 'isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions'. According to DiMaggio and Powell (p. 152):

> Two aspects of professionalization are important sources of isomorphism. One is the resting of formal education and of legitimation in a cognitive base produced by university specialists; the second is the growth and elaboration of professional networks that span organizations and across which new models diffuse rapidly.

In some senses, higher education conforms closely to the 'sources' identified above, though the result is different. Membership to the profession is based on a lengthy period of education in a cognitive base and the professional networks not only span organisations but also nations. However, it is the very division of labour in higher education based on professional knowledge and professional expertise that produces diversity and structural disintegration, not homogeneity or structural isomorphism. 'A national system of higher education is also a set of disciplines and professions' (Clark, 1983: 29), but each isolated from the others, and with its own particular set of norms, values and culture. As Clark (pp. 14-15) states: 'the harsh fact is that those who handle the materials of microbiology and those who deal in medieval history do not need one another to get on with the work, either in teaching or research or service'. Even more to the point is the fact that pressures and conflicts produced by increasing professionalism and specialisation in higher education have been met with increasing differentiation, not unification. 'In separating tasks, specialization pulls apart groups that otherwise may have to fight it out ...'; for example, 'biochemists and chemists do not have to fight over turf within a chemistry department if biochemists can develop their specialty to the point of a separate department' (Clark, 1983: 219). Groups in potential or actual competition with one another create boundaries between themselves in order to avoid direct conflict and possible defeat.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983: 152) state that 'the increased professionalization of workers whose futures are inextricably bound up with the fortunes of the organizations that employ them has rendered obsolescent (if not obsolete) the dichotomy between organizational commitment and professional allegiance that characterized traditional professions in earlier organizations'. It can be demonstrated that this statement is simply not true for the higher education field; one bit of evidence being that the reward structure for the individual academic is based as much (if not more so) on recognition by and advancement in the profession (i.e., the discipline) as on allegiance to or recognition by the formal institutional bureaucracy. As Becher and Kogan (1980: 110) maintain, 'where most other social institutions require their members to adopt convergent values and practices, universities ... put a premium on creative divergence'.

The tension between professional and organisational allegiance is particularly relevant to developing countries. On the one hand, professional allegiances, and the rewards they bring, often restrict efforts to bend the interests of academics towards problems of immediate national/local relevance; on the other hand, this same allegiance provides the intellectual sanctuary for pertinent social critique. On a more general plane, it seems that it is the conflict of interest amongst differentiated individuals and groups that drives higher education systems in one direction or another, no matter where their location.

The purpose here is not to split hairs with DiMaggio and Powell for there is a good deal in their central thesis - 'bureaucratization and other forms of organizational change occur as the result of processes that make organizations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient' (p. 147) - worth exploring. Diversification and homogenisation are as much at issue in higher education as in any other organisational field. But the processes cannot be explored by assuming from the outset that the professions and the state - what DiMaggio and Powell call 'the great rationalisers of the second half of the twentieth century' (p. 147) - inexorably effect homogeneity. Moreover, a theory of structural isomorphism seems to preclude both possibilities that change may result from the conflict (potential or manifest) of divergent interest groups or from structural contradiction.

Overly deterministic theories of process and change in higher education - modernisation/development theory; dependency theory; isomorphism - need to be replaced by a theory that concentrates on the actions and interests of 'real' people operating under particular historical circumstance. Process and change in higher education is based on power relations and the articulation of interests by various groups whose actions and interests are themselves either constrained or furthered by the structure of the academic field and their location in it. The structure itself should be viewed as a source of change. An individual's or group's disposition towards change is largely dependent upon their position in the higher education field, a point somewhat similar to that of Bourdieu's (1988: xvi-xvii): 'It is not, as is usually thought, political stances which determine people's stances on things academic, but their positions in the academic field which inform the stances that they adopt on political issues in general as well as on academic problems'. The identification of positions or levels in the academic field is necessarily arbitrary, for in practice, higher education incorporates a multiplicity of positions and levels, and for the individual, structural position can be highly fluid. For the purpose of analysis, it is useful to follow Clark's (1983: 205-206) lead and concentrate on three authority levels: the understructure, the middle (enterprise) structure and the superstructure:

> The understructure consists of the many operating units found within individual universities and colleges, including the larger ones at the level of faculties, schools, and subcolleges; the middle structure is the university or college in its entirety ... ; and the superstructure is composed of all the system links that relate one enterprise to another.

The remainder of the chapter will look at how the 'political model' of higher education as outlined above can be applied in empirical research, highlighting some of the tensions and processes associated with the interaction between and within the three authority levels.

Economics and Ideology at the Level of the Superstructure

In nearly every higher education system, government is a significant actor, if not the most significant actor. Government, its economic management of the nation and the ideological rationale, all impinge upon the structure, function and character of higher education systems. Higher education everywhere is faced with financial stringency. It is also faced with particular ideological responses to objective economic circumstances. It is the type of response, and its ideological basis, that governments make to economic imperatives which is important and the effect of this on the shape and character of higher education. The policies of the government of the day are transitory, whereas the ideological underpinnings dictating policy direction are far more enduring and have the capacity to influence the activities of successive governments, despite their political 'colour'. Recently, in many countries the underlying ideology is what might be termed as one of 'privatisation' and a belief in the hidden hand of the market place as a powerful mechanism for adjusting most social ills.

One popular solution to high public debt and economic stagnation, is for governments to shift more of the economic burden from the public to the private sector. This seems to be occurring in many countries. 'Privatisation' has largely become an ideology in its own right. Privatisation is posed as 'the solution to good government, the condition for a healthy economy, and the chance for a better education' (Perkins, 1987: 1). According to Perkins:

> In the educational world, privatization has taken three forms: a more benign attitude towards the creation of new private institutions; an increased public interest in maintaining and improving the quality of existing private education; and, most important of all, strong efforts to increase the private support of public colleges and universities.

Another aspect to the intersection between the higher education field and that of the national economy is the belief in the more or less straightforward relationship between education and economic growth (a version of the modernisation school as discussed above) and the associated danger of harnessing higher education to the particular cause of utilitarianism. Politicians nearly everywhere are staking their hopes for economic recovery on industrial and technological growth, and many believe that higher education can participate directly in economic recovery through training the right sort of graduates and through engaging in the right sort of practical and applied research. The critical assessment of the human capital argument is as relevant for small Pacific Island nations as for the large industrialised countries.

No government discovered the principles of the free market. But the ideology of privatisation and the notions of the rationalising power and equity of a competitive market seem to be powerful driving forces behind higher education reforms in many countries. Moreover, the embracing of the principles of 'privatisation' seems to signal a reversal in governments' attitude towards their role as social steward. As Trow (1984: 142) notes, during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s most Western governments were not willing to trust to the private sector the achievement of basic social goals: 'governments since World War II have intervened directly in higher education systems to democratise access and governance, to increase the relevance of studies for the economy and careers, and, perhaps above all, to increase their own influence over the size, shape, costs, and future direction of the higher education system'. And Trow goes on to claim that 'states on the whole do not like the market principle: its results are unpredictable; it gives power to institutions and their members, or to students and their parents, rather than to society and state officials' (p. 143). What seems to be happening at present is a loss of faith in the public management of institutions.

The degree (if at all) to which the higher education field conforms to the criteria of a free and competitive market is quite another matter. The important question here is the degree to which governments *believe* that the principles of the competitive market-place can be used to reform higher education and the effect of such beliefs on the shape and function of the higher education field. The converse consideration is also important, i.e., the degree to which higher education institutions themselves have embraced the principles of a competitive market in their response to changed environmental circumstances.

What are the forces pushing higher education systems in similar directions? There is no simple answer, and one must be careful not to exaggerate the degree of similarity. Nonetheless, at the level of the superstructure, different governments seem to be making similar responses to the problems facing their respective higher education systems. This may be due, in part, to similar responses to similar environmental circumstances. Economic instability, rising unemployment, flagging export markets, trade imbalances and inflation know no national boundaries. Traditional manufacturing industries are being replaced by the so-called 'knowledge processing sector', to which seemingly higher education has a particular economic contribution to make. The social service burden on national treasuries is rising everywhere, coupled with pressures to cut government expenditure and to demand greater efficiencies from public sector institutions and enterprises. As a larger proportion of the population expresses an interest in participating in higher education, inevitably, higher education becomes more of a political issue. But one factor which has yet to be systematically investigated is the international interchange at the level of the superstructure of ideas on how to govern higher education. In other words, it can be hypothesised that governments not only adopt particular ideological stances as a result of reaction to particular environmental circumstances, but also 'learn' their ideological responses from one another. It may be no accident that not only the contents of various national policies of higher education are similar, but also that the very language in which they are expressed is comparable. It is important to note that ministries of education in the South Pacific engage in the international exchange of ideas at the level of the superstructure as much as their colleagues elsewhere.

Diversification or Homogenisation at the Enterprise Level

Every country with more than one higher education institution has been faced with the question of whether to create institutions with the same standards and mission or to promote diversity amongst institutions. No country has found this to be a simple question. Policies deliberately designed to promote diversity are often undermined by a process of so-called upward academic drift.

Diversification or homogenisation may refer to both functional and structural components of the system and it is necessary not to confuse one with the other. And while the two concepts are related, one is not necessarily dependent on the other. For example, a system may be structurally differentiated, but with all institutions serving more or less homogeneous educational functions - an inherent problem of many binary structures (e.g., in Australia and the U.K.).

Diversification and homogenisation are not absolute states either in terms of structure or function. Looked at from any one point in time, the relationship between diversification and homogenisation seems static. But viewed from the advantage of the historical perspective, one can discern not only a dynamic relationship between diversification/homogenisation of higher education structures and functions, but also a symmetrical one as well. The trend towards either diversification or homogenisation is not one directional, nor is either phenomenon independent of the other. Rather, it seems that, or at least it can be hypothesised that, greater diversification at one point in time leads to greater homogenisation at another point in time and *vice versa*.

The hypothesis that there is dynamic and symmetrical relationship between diversification and homogenisation in higher education requires further elaboration and, of course, testing against the facts. The seemingly symmetrical relationship between diversification and homogenisation probably can be explained theoretically in terms of the exercise of power in a plural system of divergent interest groups. Diversification may disadvantage some groups and advantage others, resulting in tensions which may lead to the demise of the diversified structure and its substitution by a more homogeneous one. The homogeneous state of affairs, once installed, may in turn cause other interest groups to mobilise. Formal binary structures, for example, seem to present a situation where those groups on the university side of the binary divide wish to maintain the structure in order to protect their advantages, whereas those on the opposite side of the binary fence see advantage in a less formally differentiated system. Also, the unintended consequences - such as academic drift - of one or other of the processes of diversification/homogenisation may present certain groups with the opportunity to realise interests not otherwise envisaged. However, this does not explain what sets the processes in motion in the first place. Probably the answer to this question can be found in the general area of the expansion of higher education and various actors' response to the elite --> mass --> universal participation trend. A small elite system of higher education is more or less homogeneous by definition, and so long as it stays that way, there is little need to even consider issues of diversification/homogenisation. But the main point is that the notion of a dynamic and symmetrical relationship between diversification and homogenisation of higher education structures and functions may present a fruitful area for further research. In small nation systems, it may be appropriate to concentrate also on the question of diversification/homogenisation within institutions, particularly with regard to attempts to create innovative academic programmes - a topic to be explored further with regard to the classification of higher education.

Autonomy at the Understructure and Enterprise Levels

The autonomy debate is not new nor is it restricted to any one country, except in its details (see Ashby, 1966; Clark, 1980; Berdahl, 1988). Often, debates about autonomy are more emotive then they are analytically rigorous; the debates resemble those in the political arena over the value of democracy, communism or capitalism. The authors just cited along with many others have noted that if the issue of autonomy is going to be taken seriously -which indeed it should - then a distinction needs to be made between academic autonomy (may be better phrased as 'scientific or academic freedom') and institutional autonomy. Drawing on Ashby (1966), Berdahl (1988: 7) defines academic freedom as the 'freedom of the individual scholar in his/her teaching and research to pursue truth wherever it seems to lead without fear of punishment or termination of employment for having offended some political, religious or social orthodoxy'. The maintenance of academic freedom is not entirely independent from that of institutional autonomy.

In its literal sense, no higher education institution has complete autonomy; autonomy is not an all-or-nothing issue. Higher education institutions will always be subject to some demand to be publicly accountable, whether the institutions themselves are public or private. Society has too much of an interest in higher education to allow 'pure autonomy' (which always was probably myth) to prevail. According to Ashby (1966: 296), what is important is to look at the 'essential ingredients' of institutional autonomy:

> 1. Freedom to select staff and students and to determine the conditions under which they remain in the university.
> 2. Freedom to determine curriculum content and degree standards.
> 3. Freedom to allocate funds (within the amounts available) across different categories of expenditures.

Drawing again upon Ashby, Berdahl (1988: 7) further subdivides autonomy into substantive and procedural issues: '*substantive autonomy* is the power of the university or college in its corporate form to determine its own goals and programs ... ; *procedural autonomy* is the power of the university or college in its corporate form to determine the means by which its goals and programs will be pursued ....' According to Berdahl (pp. 8-9), interference in procedural autonomy:

> ... (e.g., pre-audits, controls over purchasing, personnel, some aspects of capital construction) can be an enormous bother to Academe, and often even counter-productive to efficiency, but still usually do not prevent universities or colleges from ultimately achieving their goals. In contrast, governmental actions that affect substantive goals affect the heart of Academe.

Rather than viewing autonomy as an absolute, one can regard it as a relational issue involving the balance of power between institutions and government, on the one hand, and between administration and the academic profession within institutions, on the other. Probably direct threats to academic freedom are more closely associated with the internal balance of power between executive and collegial governance than with external intervention, though the executive arm of the institution may act as a proxy for government bureaucrats. Institutional autonomy provides no absolute protection of academic freedom.

Many governments' expressed desire to de-regulate their systems of higher education is coupled with the proclamation that the role of the executive branch of institutions must be strengthened. The effects on academic freedom of enhanced management authority must be watched carefully. But as a general proposition, it can be hypothesised that the more that governments move in the direction of self-regulation the more they will desire the strengthening of management authority. In fact, the degree to which management authority is strengthened may be an indicator of the degree to which self-regulation is practised. The coupling of self-regulation with enhanced management authority seems to be occurring both within countries with a tradition of weak management authority at the enterprise level (most West European countries) and in countries with relatively stronger traditions of management authority at the enterprise level (such as Britain and Australia).

Self-regulation fits well the ideology of market-driven government stewardship. But it may be the case that governments' faith in competitive, market-driven rationalism is more 'real' in its rhetoric than in its practice. Neave (1988) views much of the talk about self-regulation as masking governments' underlying intent to retain centralised control. What seems to be developing in many countries is a 'mixed mode' of government co-ordination and steering of higher education, half based on notions of the hidden hand of the market-place and organisational natural selection in an ecological system of scarce resources, and half based on notions of centrally regulated bureaucratic control and state intervention.

If autonomy should not be treated as an absolute, neither should central bureaucratic control or self-regulation. Moreover, governmental 'half-measures' at self-regulation may lead to greater institutional autonomy than government intended. For example, enhanced management authority coupled with significantly increased institution size (as is happening in Australia) may shift the institutional/government balance of power more towards the institutions. This process may be quickened if these large institutions do indeed discover the alternative funding sources which the Australian government expects them to find.

For the purpose of analysis, it may be worthwhile to assume that self-regulation equates with institutional autonomy (though not necessarily with academic freedom), and that a measure of *degree* of self-regulation can be obtained through ascertaining who (government or the enterprise) has the authority to make crucial decisions in key areas associated with procedural and particularly substantive autonomy. Procedural autonomy can be defined as control over operational matters, such as raising and investing revenue. For the purposes of accountability, government will always retain ultimate control over certain procedures, such as the financial audit, and it will require certain forms of information. A definition of substantive autonomy can be derived by borrowing from Ashby's (1966) three 'essential elements' of autonomy: freedom to select staff and students and to determine the conditions under which they remain in the university; freedom to determine curriculum content and degree standards; freedom to allocate funds (within the amounts available) across different categories of expenditures.

More work needs to be done to perfect a scale that can be used to measure accurately the degree of autonomy and self-regulation in the higher education field, particularly if such a scale is to be applicable to different national systems. But the exercise may well be worth the effort for, if van Vught (1989) is correct, there is much at stake. He presents evidence to suggest that self-regulation is positively associated with innovation in higher education and argues (p. 114) that 'the strategy of self-regulation appears to be better suited to the context of higher education'. According to van Vught, self-regulation:

> acknowledges the fundamental characteristics of higher education institutions and it tries to make use of some of these characteristics to stimulate the innovativeness of the whole system of higher education. By limiting itself to only global forms of steering and by putting its confidence in the self-regulatory capacities of the professionals and the basic units of the higher education institutions, this strategy has the potential to become an effective approach to reach the basic objective of many Western nations.

Of course, a further question can be asked: is self-regulation an effective approach to reach the basic objective of many developing nations?

Policy Initiatives and Interrelationships Between the Enterprise and the Superstructure

A consideration of how institutions respond to government policy initiatives involves questions of power and authority, questions which are anything but unambiguous. Unfortunately, little help in removing the ambiguity is provided by most theories of change.

One way of viewing change in higher education is to place institutions on a continuum in terms of their ability to exercise initiative in the context of system-wide authority structures. At one end of the continuum is the 'bottom-up' type of system where government policy follows rather than leads a change process initiated at the departmental, faculty or institutional level; at the other end of the continuum is the 'top-down' type of system where institutions merely respond to government-inspired policy initiatives which are enforced by the power of the state. 'Bottom-up' systems are characterised by high institutional autonomy, and control mechanisms that rest more on a competitive market than on state legislative authority; 'top-down' systems are characterised by the opposite. Such a conceptualisation of change, however, has limited explanatory value. The location of a national system of higher education on the continuum may assist in the identification of the relative power of individuals and groups located in one or the other of the three primary levels constituting the higher education field (understructure, enterprise level and superstructure), but this explains little of the dynamics of change.

In a 'top-down', centrally funded, national system of higher education, like that in Australia, government is a highly significant actor. But government does not have absolute power, or at least, it cannot exercise it absolutely, and in the Australian federal system, the Commonwealth government does not have even legislative power over higher education institutions, except in a couple of cases, such as in the Australian Capital Territory. Government is itself part of the system, and its policies are either constrained or furthered by the norms, values and interests of other parties within the system. Various significant actors participate in defining and redefining the 'rules of the game' which ultimately determine 'winners and losers'.

Another view of change in the public arena focuses attention on the impotence of government policy: However rational or equitable the goals of public policy, the policies themselves are often rejected or negated by an implementation process highly influenced by entrenched institutional tradition and vested interest (Wildavsky, 1979; Wurzburg, 1989). Much of the writing in the field of higher education is about the remarkable social stability exhibited by the university organisation despite attempts by governments and others to change it.

Certainly, academia has been a rather stable, socially cohesive and resilient institution since its inception in medieval Europe. But there are occasions when entire higher education systems have been knocked off balance and extensive, fundamental change has occurred. Here, Clark's (1983: 236) definition of fundamental change is adopted:

> Particularly in systems where tasks and powers are extensively divided and dispersed, change in structure is what fundamental change means. Structural change modifies who does what on a regular basis; *and* who decides regularly on who will do what.

While change is often analysed in terms of the power (or lack of it) available to one actor (in this case, government) to impose its will on others (higher education institutions) despite opposition, a somewhat different view of change is proposed. The degree and extent of change in a complex system, such as the higher education field, is dependent upon the intersection of interests, strategic behaviour, norms and values, and ideologies of *all* concerned. The question is not solely one of government intervention (effective or otherwise), but one of how and why conditions prevail to the extent that systems are destabilised to the degree that extensive and far-reaching change becomes possible. Such a framework, of course, also allows for the study of 'non-change'.

As stated earlier in the chapter, the study of higher education in the developing countries of the South Pacific, as elsewhere, has been overly dependent on deterministic universal theories. It is hoped that studies which concentrate on the intersection of interests in specific contexts will yield more worthy results. In a formal sense, such studies of higher education may wish to consider the following proposition:

> the extent of change (or non-change) is the resultant of power relations and the articulation of interests by various groups whose actions and interests (including ideological ones) are themselves either constrained or furthered by the structure of the academic system and their location in it.

The Classificatory Relationship within the Higher Education System

Classificatory schemas distinguish like from unlike and impose an order or system of stratification upon classes of things that more often than not presumes a differentiation of complexity and quality. According to Trow (1984: 132) higher education is itself 'a stratified system of institutions, graded formally or informally in status and prestige, in wealth, power, and influence of various kinds'. Moreover, there is not only a remarkable degree of stability to the various types of stratified structures across time and in different places, but also a great deal of similarity in their basic elements, involving '(1) the stratification of sectors of higher education; (2) the stratification of institutions within sectors; (3) the stratification of units and departments within institutions' (Trow, 1984: 137).

Classificatory schemas create order where it does not actually exist; they are a necessary means for making sense out of material and social experience (Foucault, 1970; Douglas, 1966; Runciman, 1974). Whether scientist or layman, people place experience and phenomena into categories to create an 'order of things' that has its own internal logic (Foucault, 1970). There is a danger in any classificatory schema for it locks in place in the mind a natural, objective and enduring perception of things that are actually artificial and transitory.

> As time goes on and experiences pile up, we make a greater and greater investment in our system of labels. So a conservative bias is built in. It gives us confidence. At any time we may have to modify our structure of assumptions to accommodate new experience, but the more consistent experience is with the past, the more confidence we can have in our assumptions. Uncomfortable facts which refuse to be fitted in, we find ourselves ignoring or distorting so that they do not disturb these established assumptions. By and large anything we take note of is pre-selected and organised in the very act of perceiving (Douglas, 1966: 67).

There are two interrelated aspects to the classificatory relationships within higher education of concern here: (1) the order or stratification imposed by different ways of classifying higher education institutions and systems; (2) the basic value-laden assumptions, and their degree of entrenchment, underlying classifications.

Douglas (1966: 36) argues that in all societies pollution behaviour 'is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications'. The same could be said for the likely reaction to public policy which attempts to bring about dramatic restructuring, for such policies not only challenge cherished beliefs and values, but also threaten the way in which people order and stratify the higher education landscape.

It is probably the case that the longer a certain classificatory schema has been entrenched in people's minds, the greater will be the degree of resistance to any policy that attempts to impose a new order of things. That said, it is also probably true that to the extent to which reform policy is introduced into a system where basic classificatory relations are already under challenge, the more likely it is that the policy will have a degree of success. Some structures are self-defeating, based on contradictions that cause the system to be at war with itself (Douglas, 1966: 140).

Rothblatt cogently argues that 'the idea of the idea of the university' plays a powerful role in shaping the structure and function of higher education systems. It seems that where a single essentialist idea of the university prevails, growth and diversity are limited. Rothblatt argues that the pluralistic, highly diverse system of American higher education has been made possible, at least in part, by the lack of an idea of the idea of the university; or rather, in the United States there has been a plurality of ideas about what constitutes the proper university, with no one conceptualisation capable of pushing all the others out of the field. Trow's (1988: 10) examination of the growth in British higher education initiated by the Robbins Committee concludes that Robbins was a trap 'because it promised growth, and indeed delivered growth, without creating the structural or normative conditions for continued growth and development toward mass higher education'. Robbins promoted growth, according to Trow, within the confines of the idea of elite higher education, with its concentration on the specialists honours degree: 'It carried the system right up to the ceiling of elite higher education - about 14 or 15 per cent - a decade ago, and that is where it has been stuck since'. Trow's basic argument is that growth in Britain 'has not been constrained by demand ... but by supply and by the commitments to the values of elite higher education that constrain supply' (p. 11).

In some countries, governments have attempted to remove elite structures of higher education through amalgamating elite institutions with other types of higher education institutions. The Australian government, for example, views the demise of the Australian binary system and its replacement with the unified national system as a challenge to the idea of elite higher education in that country. The recent Australian White Paper devotes a good deal of space to discussions of issues concerning equity and access and states that the government is 'committed to improving access to and success in the higher education system' (1988: 20). Without articulating it as such, the government seems drawn to the idea of the comprehensive university (p. 43):

> there are still substantial inequities in community access to higher education. Structural rigidities have been an important factor in the perpetuation of these inequities. Addressing this structural problem will require institutions to provide a broader range of entry options; to grant automatic credit for previous studies towards higher qualification; to provide a continuum of courses from two-year vocational courses to higher degrees; and to provide a wider range of support services and facilities for their students. *Consolidation arrangements* [my emphasis] which facilitate the achievement of these ends will be an important source of greater equity in the system.

The government hopes that the destruction of the binary system and its replacement by the unified national system will promote diversity and equity. But there are no guarantees in this regard, and systems destabilised have a remarkable tendency to recreate themselves in their own image.

The higher education literature is somewhat divided as to what are the outcomes of integrated and non-integrated systems of higher education. Neave (1983), for example, argues that 'all systems of higher education display a dynamic towards integration'. While government policy may be aimed at sustaining a non-integrated system, 'there is, nevertheless,' according to Neave, 'an undisputable move towards integration, even though from the policy-makers perspective, it constitutes a regression toward the priorities, values and practices found in the "noble" [university] sector'. Clark (1983: 194-95), on the other hand, while recognising the push towards integration, draws a somewhat different conclusion as to the ultimate result:

> The search for fair shares on the part of institutions and their staffs, and for equality of treatment and outcomes for students, pushes

> systems away from binary, tripartite, and other multiple-sector arrangements. Thus, national systems still actively seek a way to *de*differentiate. The label of "university" is generously passed around .... New definitions tell the public there is going to be only one type of institution, the comprehensive university, with everything made a part of it ....
>
> The modern comprehensive university in some countries represents an effort to have it both ways, to allow for differentiation of major parts and, at the same time, assign a formal equality that hopefully will keep down invidious distinctions. But this form appears unstable, especially in large systems, as the more prestigious parts resist the lumping together of everyone and as attentive publics as well as insiders perceive real differences and attach different values to the parts .... Explicit sectors thus seem to be the chief answer to the macro organization of an evermore extended division of academic labor. The crucial process of change from implicit to explicit is the legitimation of roles for different types of institutions ....

The crucial question is not one of integration or differentiation as such. Rather, it is, as Clark notes, one of 'legitimation of roles for different types of institutions'. There will always be an institutional hierarchy, with those institutions at the bottom of the status structure tending to emulate those at the top. What is at stake is whether those institutions which cannot occupy the top rung in the status ladder can develop a distinctive identity and mission seen as a legitimate alternative by staff, students and the community. The legitimation of roles for different types of higher education institutions is a pressing issue for most nations. The issue is even more pressing when it is coupled with questions of equity and quality.

The way in which higher education systems in the South Pacific are classified will certainly have an influence on who they serve and how. In that the systems are comparatively recent introductions, changing classifications may be less arduous than in countries with a longer tradition of higher education. However, classifications can become entrenched and resistant to change surprisingly quickly.

Conclusion

The above is but a cursory review of some of the theories and issues in the field of higher education. An attempt has been made to replace overly deterministic theories with those which concentrate on the views and interests of conscious actors in particular places. The importance of theory, nonetheless, is emphasised. Theories are but abstractions, but so is thought, and what we think higher education is, is often what it becomes. As the Shorts maintain in chapter 6, 'nothing is impossible, but thinking makes it so'. This volume is devoted to opening the debate on the future role and relevance of higher education in the South Pacific; this essay asks no more than that this future be examined on the basis of intellectual concepts that have the same relevance as demanded of the higher education systems which they seek to explain.

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